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STUDIA INSTITUTI ANTHROPOS

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SUMPTIBUS DOMUS MISSIONUM AD ST. GABRIELEM
VIENNAE-MÖDLING, AUSTRIA

STUDIA INSTITUTI ANTHROPOS

VOL. 3

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LOUIS J. LUZBETAK, S.V.D.

Marriage and the Family in Caucasia

A Contribution to the Study of North Caucasian Ethnology and Customary Law

Dissertation

submitted to the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, by Louis J. Luzbetak, S. V. D., and accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy at its session of July 1st, 1949, on the recommendation of Professors Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt and Dr. Georg Hoeltker, respectively first and second referees. — Prof. Dr. N. Luyten O. P., Dean

p. v [p. iv is blank]

PUBLISHED BY ST. GABRIEL'S MISSION PRESS VIENNA-MÖDLING 1951

To
ARNOLD JANSSEN
The Founder of the Society
of the Divine Word

p. VII [p. VI containes no
Textual material]

Preface

121 Though the Caucasus lies so near to Europe that some geographers are inclined to consider it as belonging to that continent rather than to Asia, nevertheless it remains one of the least known lands of the world. The Caucasus is indeed so near and yet so far away !

One need not be a prophet to realize that someday at least a partial solution to many an ethnological problem will be found in this rugged country, which has played an extremely important part in prehistoric times. Caucasia was a corridor between Europe and Asia during the migrations of ancient peoples. It was also a place of refuge for the weaker tribes. The Caucasus Mountains have preserved for us ancient cultures, which may throw great light upon such problems as the origin of pastoral and agrarian economies. Perhaps even the Assyriologist and other scholars interested in ancient codes of laws of the Near East may find an explanation to some of their problems in the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers. The great cultural similarity between the ancient Indo-Europeans and the Caucasians may help to solve some of the complicated problems connected with the Indo-Europeans. The study of Caucasian culture is of far greater importance than is generally realized.

Unfortunately, Western European and American ethnologists have neglected the Caucasus. This is a deplorable fact because the ancient, genuinely Caucasian culture, once so well preserved in the isolated villages of rugged Caucasus, is rapidly vanishing : Caucasians are ceasing to be Caucasians and becoming more and more like the Europeans, their powerful neighbours. They are becoming " civilized," but their culture, their genuinely Caucasian culture, is vanishing from life, memory, and science.

The present work is a comparative study of the Caucasian social life and is focused primarily on the mountain peoples living on the northern slopes of the Caucasus : the Abkhaz, the Cherkess, the Chechens, and the numerous peoples and tribes living in the mountains of Daghestan, the so-called " Lesghians."* Nevertheless, to complete our comparison, we shall also briefly sketch the marriage and family observances of the neighbouring peoples : the South Caucasian tribes, the Turco-Mongols, and the Ossetes. The description of the neighbouring peoples, however, will necessarily be brief and at times incomplete, the aim being merely to better understand the *North* Caucasians, to show the possible direction of cultural currents, to help trace the history of the North Caucasian marriage and family, to help interpret the marriage and family customs of North Caucasia. We shall limit our treatise as far as possible to the *juridical* character of marriage and the family, while other aspects will

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* Strictly speaking, only the Kurins are Lesghians. However, the term is so universally used by authors for the entire group of Proto-Caucasians living in Daghestan that it would be inadvisable to introduce a new term.

p. ix [p. viii is blank]

121 be considered only in as far as they are deemed necessary or useful for our historical reconstructions and economic, social, and religious interpretations. In a word, *the aim of this book is to trace the history of North Caucasian marriage and family law from the present to prehistorical times.*

By "family" we understand the individual (biological) family. Though a study of the joint-family organization be very profitable, it would lead us too far afield and more than double the size of the present work. Consequently, such questions as inheritance laws and the many questions regarding kinship are only slightly touched upon.

Since Caucasology is still in its infancy, we cannot expect such certitude from a study like this as we might rightly expect, for example, from a treatise on the American Indian. Nevertheless, the Caucasologist interested in the history and interpretation of the marriage and family law of the mountaineers has, even now, sufficient data to reach safe hypothetical conclusions and in not a few questions complete certitude. Where certitude is impossible he must strive after probability; where probability is unattainable he must be satisfied with mere possibility, and even, at times, with the consciousness of the existence of problems.

Some of the matter included in the present work may at first sight appear extraneous, perfectly known to the Caucasologist, and therefore unnecessary. But since this is the first strictly ethnological study on the Caucasians ever to appear in the English language, we deem it advisable to include "A General Introduction to the Study of Caucasian Culture" with such sections as "The Peoples and Tribes of Caucasia," "General Historical Conspectus of Ethnographical Data about the Caucasus," "Liguistics,"[1] etc. We hope that the extensive bibliography at the end of this work will prove of some value to the student of Caucasian culture. With this imperfect work we hope, if not actually to *open* a new, vast, and important field of research for the English-speaking ethnologist, at least *to call his attention to it.*

000 The present study would have been impossible if it had not been for the courteous cooperation of the staff of the London Library (St. James's Square) and especially of the Secretary and Librarian C. J. Purnell, M. A., to whom I wish to express my sincerest thanks. I am also greatly indebted to my teachers at the Universities of Fribourg and Vienna, Professors Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., R. Bleichsteiner, Mr. and Mrs. F. Hančar. D. Wölfel, and J. Haekel for their useful suggestions. I alone, however, am responsible for the opinions expressed in the present work and for the criticism of authors. I owe a very special word of thanks to Professor Wilhelm Schmidt, for it is he who is most responsible for my interest in the Caucasian tribes and their culture. To Professor Joseph Henninger, S.V.D. I am grateful for the assistance given me in Arabic and in Islamic law. To this list must be added the names of the Reverend D. Walsh, S.V.D. and Miss Olive Forster, who read my manuscript and are responsible for not a few deletions and additions. Finally, to the Anthropos Institute I am grateful for publishing my work in the *Studia Instituti Anthropos.*

Techny, Illinois, December, 1950. L. J. L.

[1] [Sic--Analyst]

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Abbreviations

ADO = *Adaty Darginskich Obščestv*, in SSKG, VII (1873).
ADOiZO = *Adaty Dagestanskoj Oblasti i Zakatal'skago Okruga.*
AGKB = *Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker*, article by A. Dirr in Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, XLI (1925), pp. 1—128.
AJuDO = *Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv*, SSKG, VIII (1875).
DUBROVIN, ISTORIJA = N. Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkazê*, six volumes, St. Petersburg, 1871—1888.
KOVALEVSKIJ, COUTUME CONTEMP. = M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne. Droit coutumier ossétien éclairé par l'histoire*, Paris, 1893.
KOVALEVSKIJ, ZAKON = M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazê*, Moscow, 1890.
LADYŽENSKIJ, FT = *Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen*, article by A. Ladyženskij, in Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, XLV (1930), pp. 178—208.
LEONTOVIČ = Th. O. Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev, Materialy po obyčnomu pravu sêvernago i vostočnago Kavkaza*, two volumes, Odessa, 1882—1883.
SMOMPK = *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mêstnostej i plemen Kavkaza.*
SSKG = *Sbornik svêdenij o kavkazskich gorcach.*
ZKO = *Zapiski kavkazskago otdêla imperatorskago russkago geografičeskago obščestva.*

Transliteration

I. Russian

А = A
Б = B
В = V
Г = G
Д = D
Е = E
Ж = Ž
З = Z

И = I
Й = J
К = K
Л = L
М = M
Н = N
О = O

П = P
Р = R
С = S
Т = T
У = U
Ф = F
Х = CH

Ц = C
Ч = Č
Ш = Š
Щ = ŠČ
Ъ = omitted
Ь = '
Ы = Y

Э = E
Ю = JU
І = I
Я = JA
Ѣ = Ê
Ѳ = TH (pronounced like Ф)

This transcription is based on the Czechoslovak alphabet. It should be noted that CH is pronounced as in German *Macht* and not as in the English word "church"; C is pronounced as the *ts* in "hats"; J is the equivalent of the Y in "yes"; the Y used in our transliteration is a vowel, the equivalent of which is not found in English. I, Ê, and TH have been abolished and occur only in books published before 1918; these letters are retained in our transliteration whenever found in the original. This transliteration is also used for all names of Caucasians, e. g., Bašir Dalgat, Djavachišvili, etc., except in footnotes where the transliteration of the work cited is retained, e. g., in citing Djavachišvili's German article we use the original spelling as found in that particular article, Djawachischwili.

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II. Arabic

أ = '
ب = b
ت = t
ث = t̲
ج = j
ح = ḥ
خ = h̲
د = d
ذ = d̲
ر = r
ز = z
س = s
ش = š
ص = ṣ
ض = ḍ
ط = ṭ
ظ = ẓ
ع = ‘
غ = ṙ (ġ)
ف = f
ق = ḳ
ك = k
ل = l
م = m
ن = n
ه = h
و = w
ي = y

III. Tribal and Place-names, and Native Words

A as in fAther; E as in fAt; I as in fEEt; O as in Orange; U as in fOOd; CH as in CHurCH; SH as in SHip; KH as in German MaCHt; DZH as in Jug; Y as in Yes; Q is an emphatic K; 'glottoclusive; ‘aspirated. The relatively few native words which we shall use do not justify us in constructing a long and complicated transliteration, which an exact reproduction of the numerous Caucasian languages would demand. Tribal and place-names which have an established English spelling, e. g., Kirghiz, have also been adopted by us. The other letters are the same as in English.

Corrigenda—Map I

" Völker des Kaukasus " should read " Völkerkarte des Kaukasus "
" Landesaufn." should read " Landesaufnahme "
" Osmanli Turcs " should read " Osmanli Turks "

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

A General Introduction to the Study of Caucasian Culture

§ 1. PEOPLES AND TRIBES OF CAUCASIA

The Caucasus has been called an ethnographic mosaic, and rightly so, for, 197
of the 170 different nations, peoples and tribes of the U.S.S.R. at least a third 101
live in the Caucasus.[1] Some decades ago it was still a problem to classify the inhabitants of this relatively small area—a problem which, thanks to the progress made in Caucasian linguistics, has practically disappeared. We may divide them into two main groups, the Caucasians and the non-Caucasians. By "Caucasians" we understand all tribes which speak a language belonging to no linguistic group outside the Caucasus, whereas the "non-Caucasians" are all the other peoples who migrated to the Caucasus in more recent times and speak languages belonging to linguistic groups outside this territory, such as the Indo-Europeans, Turco-Tartars, and Semites. The true Caucasians are further divided into three branches, the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and Southern Caucasians,[2] a classification based again on linguistic affinity. As mentioned in the Preface, our interest centres around the Northwestern and Northeastern Caucasians.[3]

The large ethnographic map (Map I), the note regarding the absolute and relative population (*infra*, p. 5), and the following outline with its detailed classification of the peoples and tribes inhabiting the Caucasus and their various names will provide sufficient orientation for the reader and may prove useful for future reference.

I. Caucasians

A. The Northwestern Caucasians

1. The *Abkhaz* (called Absoi, Abaski, Abasgi, etc. by the Greek writers of 101
the second century; Abaskhoi by the Byzantine writers; Abkhasi by

---

[1] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 3.

[2] The languages of the Caucasus and their relationship to one another and to other languages outside the Caucasus are treated in a special section below. See pp. 12—16.

[3] In the present study we do not include such tribes that no longer live in the Caucasus, such as the Ubykhs.

R1

101 Georgian authors; Adzekha by the Cherkess; Apʻshili and Apʻsari by the Georgian Chroniclers; their own name is Apʻsua, i. e., " Men ")

a) Abaz tribe
b) Abkhaz proper
c) Abshavs
d) Barakei
e) Beshilbei
f) Bsubbs
g) Dzhigits
h) Samursakanians
i) Tsebelendinians, etc.

2. The *Cherkess* (called Circassians by Turks, Çherkets; Zygoi, Zinkoi, Sundyi, Kerketaioi, Kerketai, etc. by the Latin and Greek writers; own name, Adighé, i. e., " Men " or perhaps from the Abkhazian word *adzy*, meaning " water " and hence " Coastal Dwellers "; own name also Dzikhursh, perhaps from the Greek *Zygoi*)

a) Abadzekhs (" Horse-breeders ")
b) Beselenians (" Forest Dwellers ")
c) Bzhedukhadz (called Medovei by the Russians, meaning " Honey-people " or " Bee-keepers ")
d) Kabardians
e) Natukhadz (" Traders ")
f) Shapsugs

3. The *Ubykhs* (own name, P'yokh; no longer in the Caucasus)

B. The Northeastern Caucasians

1. The *Chechens*

a) Bats (Batsbi or Tsova)

b) Chechens proper (called Čečenci by the Russians after the main Chechen town; Chachantsi by the Dido; Tsatsar by the Ossetes; Sheshen by the Kabardians; own name, Nakhchui, meaning " People ")
  (1) Aukh or Akki
  (2) Ichkerians, etc.

c) Ingushi (own name, Lamur, meaning " Mountain ")
  (1) Dzherakh sub-tribe
  (2) Galash
  (3) Khamkhal
  (4) Metskhal
  (5) Mountain Ingushi (Galgai)
  (6) Nazranians
  (7) Tsori, etc.

d) Karabulaks (no longer in the Caucasus)

2. The *so-called Lesghians* (called Lesghi by the classical writers ; Lekebi by the Lesghians themselves ; Tauli by the Kumyks ; Lamauroi by the Chechens ; Lyasgarians by the Kurins)
   - *a*) The Avaro-Andian sub-group
     - (1) The Avars (from the Turkish meaning " warlike ")
     - (2) The Andi branch
       - (*a*) Akhvakh (own name, Akhluati)
       - (*b*) Andi (called Andiritshu by the Laks ; Andi by the Avars ; own name, Kuannal)
       - (*c*) Botlikh (Botlikh in Avarian ; own name, Buikhakhl'i ; also called Buyukhadi)
       - (*d*) Chamalal (in Avarian and Botlikhian Chamalal ; own name, Chama-iga)
       - (*e*) Godoberi (Godoberi in Karataian ; called Godoberies Hikua by the Khvarshi ; own name, Gibditli Adami after town of Gidu)
       - (*f*) Karat'abi (called Karat'abi by the Dido ; own name, Kirtlei after town of Kirtle,
       - (*g*) Kuanada or Bagulal (own name, Bagolal)
       - (*h*) Tindi (own name, Idarau Hekua ; in Avarian, Tindiseu)
     - (3) The Dido branch
       - (*a*) Dido properly so-called (own name, Tsezi)
       - (*b*) Kapuchi or Khvanal (own name, Khapuchias Suko, i. e., " Men from Kapuchi ")
       - (*c*) Khunsak (called Khunzali by the Dido ; also called Nakhada, perhaps from *nakha*, an Avarian word meaning " behind ")
       - (*d*) Khvarshi (called Kkhuarshitli by the Godoberi ; Kkhuarshidi by the Botlikh ; own name, Khedaes Hikua, i. e., " A Man from Kheda ")
   - *b*) The Lak-Dargwa sub-group
     - (1) The Dargwa (or Dargins, derived from Kumykian *dargilar* and *dargva*)
       - (*a*) Akusha
       - (*b*) Hirkanians (also called Hurkilians, " Inhabitants of the Town of Khur Kkhila Shi ")
       - (*c*) Varkun
       - (*d*) Khaitak
     - (2) The Laks (Kazikumukh, derived from the town called Kumukh + the Arabic word *gâzî*, i. e., " Victorious Defenders of the Faith ")
   - *c*) The Samur sub-group
     - (1) Aghulians
     - (2) Budukh

- (3) Dzhek (or Dzhek-Krys)
- (4) Kurins (own name, Lyagar ; Lesghians properly so-called)
  - (*a*) Akhti
  - (*b*) Kuba
  - (*c*) Khüri
- (5) Rutulians (or Mikhashurians or Mekhad after their town Mikheshura)
- (6) Tabassaranians (or Gumgum)
- (7) Tsakhurians (after their main town called Tsakhur)

d) The Archi
e) The Udins
f) The Khinalugians

C. The Southern Caucasians

1. The *Georgians*
   - *a*) Kharthlians
   - *b*) Kakhetians (The islamized Kakhetians of Sakataly are called Ingiloi !)
   - *c*) Khevsurs
   - *d*) Pshavs
   - *e*) Tushi
   - *f*) Mokhevians
   - *g*) Racha
   - *h*) Gurians (The islamized Gurians are known as the Adzhars.)
   - *i*) Imeretians or Imeréti
   - *j*) Mtiuletians
2. *Mingrelians* (Georgian Megréli)
   - *a*) Senaki
   - *b*) Sugdidi
   - *c*) Samursakanians
3. *Laz* (also called Chanians ; own name, Tsani ; called Alas by the Abkhaz ; Ch'ani by the Georgians)
4. *Svans* (also called Shvan, Shan, derived from Georgian *savane*, " A Place of Refuge ")

II. Non-Caucasians

A. Indo-Europeans

1. *Russians*
2. *Ukrainians*

3. *Poles*
4. *Bohemians* (and other Slavs)
5. *Germans*
6. *Greeks*
7. *Armenians*
8. *Kurds*
9. *Ossetes*
    a) Alaghir
    b) Kurtalinsk Ossetes
    c) Tagaurians
    d) Tualti, etc.
10. *Persians*
11. *Talysh*
12. *Tat*

B. Mongols (Kalmuks)

C. Turks

1. *Azerbaijani Tartars*
2. *Karachai*
3. *Kirghiz*
4. *Kumyks*
5. *Nogai*
6. *Osmanli Turks*
7. *Balkarians*
8. *Turkomans*
9. *Karapapaks*

D. Semites

1. *Aissores*
2. *Arabs*
3. *Mountain and other Jews*

E. Finno-Ugrians

1. *Esthonians*
2. *Mordovanians*

Population of Caucasia: Finno-Ugrians and Semites, 1.1% ; Turco-Mongols, 19.2% ; 162 Indo-Europeans of Iranian stock, in the Caucasus since 1,000 B.C., 18.4% ; Indo-Europeans who immigrated in relatively recent times, 37.3% ; true Caucasians, 24%.

Esthonians : 2,400. Arabs : 900. Mt. Jews : 26,000. Other Jews : 24,000. Chaldeans : 12,000. Nogai : 23,000. Kumyks : 94,800. Karachai : 55,000. Balkarians : 33,000. Turkomans : 11,000. Karapapaks : 6,300. Azerbaijani : 2,274,000. Kalmucks : 134,000. Russians : 2,400,000. Ukrainians : 1,600,000. Poles : 4,000. Germans : 60,000. Greeks : 100,000. Moldovanians : 7,000. Armenians : 2,151,000. Ossetes : 354,000. Tat : 150,000. Talysh : 90,000. Kurds : 45,000. Persians : 50,000. West Cherkess : 88,000. East Cherkess : 164,000. Abkhaz : 58,000. Chechens proper : 407,000, Ingushi : 92,000. Bats : 2,500. Avars : 159,000. Andi : 7,700. Botlikh : 2,800. Godoberi : 1,400. Karatai : 5,200. Akhvakh : 3,700. Chamalal : 3,500. T'indi : 3,700. Dido : 3,200. Khvarshi : 1,000. Kapuchi : 1,500. Nakhada : 130. Laks : 40,000. Dargwa : 122,000. Kubachi : 2,400. Kurins : 165,000. Aghulians : 7,000. Budukh : 2,000. Dzhek : 10,000. Tabassaranians : 30,000. Rutulians : 12,000. Tsakhur : 11,000. Ardhi : 859. Udins : 2,800. Khinalugs : 2,000.

These figures are based on R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22 ; R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 61—74 ; *Izvestija* of April 29, 1940 ; A. Dirr, "Anthropologische und ethnographische Uebersicht über die Völker des Kaukasus," *Petermann's Mitt.*, LVIII (1912), No. 1, pp. 17—19. We have not included the less important non-Caucasian peoples as the Bulgarians, Bohemians, *etc.* It is to be noted also that the Caucasians living outside of the Caucasus are not included either, *e. g.*, only 700 Laz are indicated because the other 63,000 live in Turkey. The Gurians and Adzhars are included with the figure for the Georgians : some authors wrongly classify them as independent peoples.

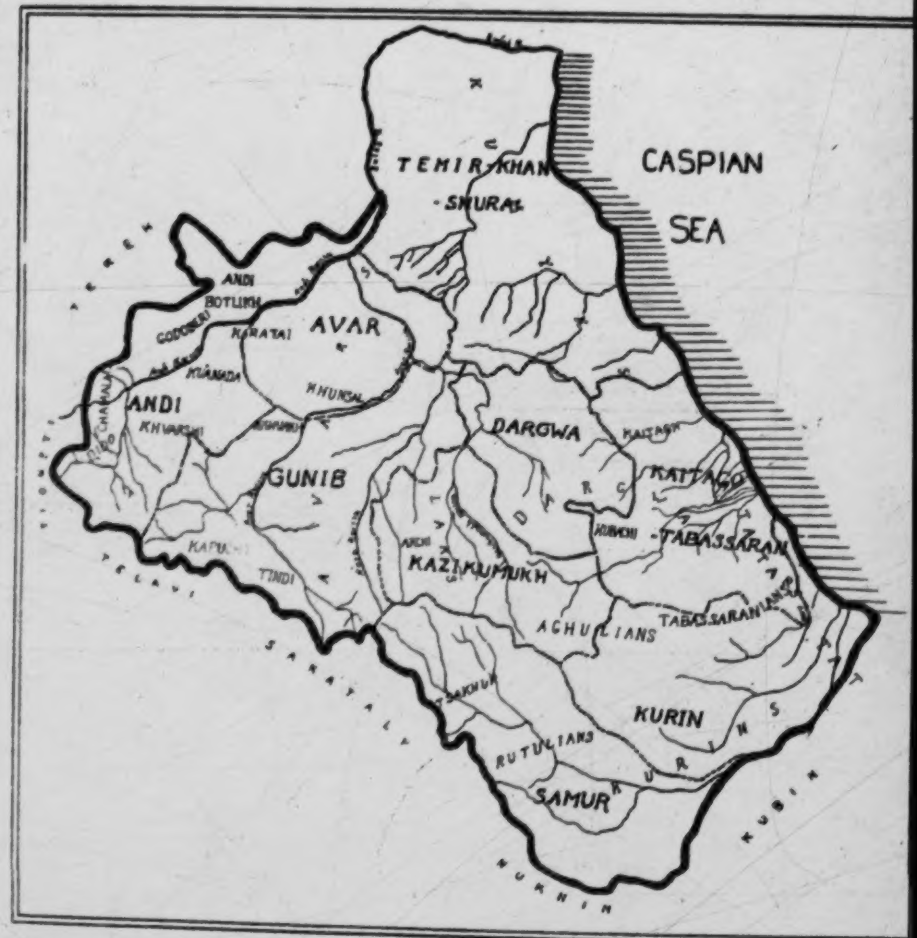
MAP II

Daghestan

PROVINCES AND PEOPLES

Referred to in the Adat-collections Used in the Present Work

101


TEMIR-KHAN-SHURA
CASPIAN SEA
TEREK
ANDI
BOTLIKH
GODOBERI
KARATAI
AVAR
KHUNZAL
ANDI
KHVARSHI
DIDO
GUNIB
DARGWA
KAITAGO
TABASSARAN
KAZI-KUMUKH
KAPUCHI
TINDI
TIFLIS
ACHULIANS
TABASSARANIANS
KURIN
RUTULIANS
SAMUR
ZAKATALA
NUKHIN
KUBIN

Boundaries:

▬ of Daghestan

--- of the Provinces ("Okrugs")

The boundaries of the "Okrugs" have been based on A. Dirr, Petermann's Mitteilungen, 1910, No. 1.

§ 2. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The so-called "Caucasoid Race" in reference to the "Europeans" is a 144 complete misnomer. A *common* European race has never existed; nor have [147] the "Europeans" come from the Caucasus or immediate vicinity, so that the use of the term is quite unjustifiable.

We are interested, however, not in these pseudo-Caucasians but in the true Caucasians, the natives of Caucasia who speak languages belonging to no linguistic group outside of the Caucasus. Do *they* (or at least some of them) form a distinct race?

Negatively stated, the Caucasians are not, as was formerly supposed, survivors of numberless different stocks and races, who, one after the other, found refuge in the Caucasus Mountains. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Caucasia has indeed misled the earlier anthropologists to such untenable conjectures, but today we know that this assumption is false, and after having made sufficient reservations, we may even speak of a "Caucasian Race". But still much research is necessary before a final word can be said regarding the racial affinity and components of the individual tribes of the Caucasus.

According to Djavachišvili, the typical representatives of the "Caucasian 141 Race" are the Georgians, Lesghians, Cherkess and Armenians. He assigns the 142 following marks as being characteristic of the Caucasian Race: 47% to 67% have dark hair; 53% to 81% dark eyes; 58% to 72% brunette type; head-length moderate, 181 mm. to 187 mm.; head-breadth large, 155 mm. to 159 mm.; 80% to 96% are definitely roundheaded with an 83.44 to 86.55 index; the height of the skull varies from 128 mm. to 133 mm., and in relation to its width 82.58 to 84.89, in relation to its length 69.66 to 73.05. The face is of moderate height, breadth 143 mm. to 145 mm., length 178 mm. to 184 mm. with an index of 79.44 to 81.73 (36% to 54% being broad faced and 46% to 62% moderately so). The distance between inner eye-corners varies from 30 mm. to 32 mm. Differences are especially noticeable in stature, quantity of hair, and nasal index, depending on the ethnic group to which the subject belongs. Djavachišvili, in his excellent compilation of anthropometric data of the Caucasians, divides the race into five main groups and 14 types. The mean stature of the Georgian and Cherkess groups is 165 cm., except for the Kabardians, who are 2 cm. taller. The mean stature of the Lesghian group varies from 164 cm. to 168 cm., varying according to tribe. (The mean stature of the Chechens is 168 cm.[4]) The Georgian group shows the scantiest hair; contrariwise the Armenian group has a very thick growth of hair. The nasal index varies too: Georgian group 58.0; Armenian group 62.5; Cherkess group 64.05; Lesghian group 65.2. The nasal length of the Lesghians is 54; of the Cherkess 57; of the Georgian 60; of the Armenian group 61. The nose is leptorrhine according to the following percentage: 100% of the Gurians and Imeréti; 97% of the

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[4] Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (1945), p. 633.

141 Karthlians and Kakhetians; 91% of the Abkhaz; 79% of the Cherkess; 71%
142 of the Lesghians; 78% of the Armenians; 70% of the Ingushi.[5] The Caucasians are generally dark-mixed in pigmentation.[6]

TABLE 1

144 Groups and Types of the Caucasian Race according to Djavachišvili

Groups	Types	Peoples and Tribes
Cherkess	Western Type Eastern Type Mixed	Abkhaz, Abasians, Abadzekhs Adighé, Kabardians Karachai*
Lesghian	Western Type Eastern Type	Avars, Archi, Kaitago-Tabassaranians** Kurins, Dargwa
Georgian	Western Type Eastern Type Central Type	Gurians, Imeréti, Samegrelo Karthlians, Kakhetians Racha, Mthiuleti
Armenian	Armenian Type Aissorian	Armenians Aissores***
Metamorphic	Georgian-Armenian Lesghian Lesghian-Armenian Georgian-Cherkess	Georgian Jews, Udins Kumyks, Lesghian Tartars Lesghian and Shemakhic Jews Chechens and Ossetes

* The Karachai and the Balkars are Turks. The Mountain Tartars may well be descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 8. Marr considered the Balkars and Karachai as turkized Caucasians, or, as he called them, "Japhetido-Turks".

** Racially the Karakaitags may be turkized Mongols. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

*** Aissores are Semites.

This table is based on Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

141 Practically all Caucasians are brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic. According to Danilov's measurements, of 873 individuals belonging to 15 different tribes, only 11% were dolichocephals, 16% mesocephals and 73% brachycephals.[7] The following table, based on the most reliable and recent data, shows the indices of the Caucasians and neighbouring non-Caucasians.

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[5] A. Djawachischwili, "Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), pp. 79—88.

[6] C. S. Coon, *l. c.*

[7] Cited by Henry Field, *Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran*, p. 107.

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TABLE 2

Cephalic Indices of the Peoples of Caucasia*

A. True Caucasians

PEOPLES		TRIBES	CEPHALIC INDEX	NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS	OBSERVER OR SOURCE
Northwesterners	Abkhaz	Abazians	80.7		Chantre
		Coastal Abkhaz	83.0		Chantre
	Cherkess	Mokokh	78.5		Chantre
		Adighé	81.4		Deniker
		Adighé	81.9	30	Erckert
		General	82.05	54	Kappers
		Shapsugs	82.1		Chantre
		Beslenians	82.2		Chantre
		Temirgoi	83.0		Chantre
		General	83.44	238**	Djavachišvili
		General	84.2	85	Erckert
Northeasterners	Chechens	Ingushi	80.4		Chantre
		General	84.0		Coon
		General	84.2	85	Erckert
		General	84.8	34	Kherumian
	Lesghians	Dido	82.6	52	Erckert
		Khinalugs	82.7	10	Erckert
		Budukh	83.3	10	Erckert
		Tsakhurians	84.4	7	Erckert
		Avars	85.1	44	Kherumian
		Dzhek	85.1	10	Erckert
		Laks	85.2	35	Erckert
		General	85.5	521	Erckert
		Avars	85.7	66	Erckert
		Rutulians	85.9	20	Erckert
		Andi	86.0	10	Erckert
		General	86.06	804	Djavachišvili
		Laks	86.1	13	Kherumian
		Aghulians	86.2	14	Erckert
		Dargwa	86.2	129	Erckert
		Tabassaranians	86.3	34	Erckert
		Avars	86.4		Chantre
		Archi	86.4	22	Erckert
		General	86—87		Coon
		Kurins	87.6	43	Erckert
Southerners	Georgians	Gurians	80.5		Chantre
		Khevsurs	80.7		Chantre
		Imeréti	80.9		Chantre
		Mingrelians	83.2	900	Džahov
		Grusians	83.5	21	Erckert
		General	83.7	1245	Djavachišvili
		Svans	83.8		Deniker
		General	84.0		Coon
		Laz	85.6		Deniker
		Grusians	85.8		Chantre
		Laz	86.8		Deniker
		Laz	87.3		Chantre

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* In compiling the data on the cephalic indices I have used: Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of the Soviet Union*, (1948), pp. 130 ff. R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LVII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 62. C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 632 ff. A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la Mer Noire*, (1937), pp. 29 ff. A Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 84. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*, pp. 366 f, 370 f.

** This number includes the Abkhaz also.

B. Non-Caucasians Living in the Caucasus

	PEOPLES	TRIBES	CEPHALIC INDEX	NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS	OBSERVER OR SOURCE
Indo-Europeans	Persians		76.8		Chantre
	Kurds		77.6		Ivanovskij
	Kurds		77.92	391	Djavachišvili
	Persians		78.4		Deniker
	Kurds		78.5		Deniker
	Persians		78.73	224	Djavachišvili
	Tats		79.0		Deniker
	Tats		79.2	129	Deniker
	Ossetes	Terek	80.7		Chantre
		General	81.4	16	Erckert
		General	81.5	300	Riskine
		General	81.9	554	Deniker
		General	82.0		Coon
		General	82.62	200	Gil'čenko
		General	82.7		Deniker
		Terek & Koban	83.11	10	Chantre
		Northern	84.60	105	Field
		Koban necropolis	84.7		Chantre
	Armenians		85.1		Chantre
			85.6		Deniker
			85.6	21	Erckert
Turko-Tartars	Azerbaijanis		77.7	357	Djavachišvili
	Azerbaijanis		78.1		Deniker
	Turkomans	N. Caucasus	79.3	302	Jarcho
	Azerbaijanis		79.4		Erckert
	Azerbaijanis	Gokcha	81.6		Chantre
	Kumyks		83.5	19	Kherumian
	Taulu		83.6		Deniker
	Nogai	Eastern Kara-Nogai	84.0	156	Terebinskaja
	Nogai	Terek	84.2	108	Levin
	Kumyks		84.7	24	Erckert
	Kumyks		84—85		Chantre
	Nogai		85.0		Chantre
	Karachai		85.1	211	Levin
	Nogai		85.8		Deniker
	Nogai		86.0		Chantre
	Nogai		86.2		Erckert

A closer study of the tables will reveal the following facts.

(1) The pure or relatively pure Iranians have the lowest cephalic index : Persians 76.8, Kurds 77.6, Tats 79.2.

(2) The Lesghians and some Georgians have the highest index.

(3) Low brachycephaly is found among the Mingrelians, Imeréti, Khevsurs, Gurians, Ingushi, some Ossetes and some Abkhaz.

(4) The indices of the individual Ossete tribes vary from 80.7 to a mean 84.7 ; the Cherkess vary from 78.5 to 84.5.[8]

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[8] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.

A brief explanation for each one of these facts may be in place here. 141
(1) That our table should show the lowest cephalic indices for the Indo-European 144
populations of the Caucasus is to be expected, for the pure Indo-European stock was dolichocephalic. The Scythians, Alans and early Ossetes till the ninth century A. D. were undoubtedly dolichocephals.[9] (2) That the highest brachycephalism should be shared by the Georgians and Lesghians offers no serious problem, for it is certain from other anthropometric data, that at least the Georgians and practically all Lesghians form an anthropological unit. (3) To explain the near-mesocephaly and the (4) variability of certain ethnic groups in the Caucasus is still a difficult unsolved problem. About 50% of the population of the Caucasus is brachycephalic and only 18% dolichocephalic, while the neighbouring South (ancient Asia Minor especially) is overwhelmingly brachycephalic too. It is quite probable that the mesocephalic tendency of the Mingrelians (81.4), Imeréti (80.9 and 81.4), Khevsurs (80.7), Chechens (80.4), Adyghé (81.4) and Abasians (80.7) can be explained to a large extent[10] by a struggle between two unequal forces, dolichocephalic waves from the North and brachycephalic waves from the South. The variability of the indices of the Cherkess tribes (78.5, 82.1, 83, 83.6, 83.8, 84.5) may perhaps be due to the fact that some groups have been subject to the dolichocephalizing waves to a lesser degree than others. The main dolichocephalic waves seem to be especially, though not exclusively, of Aryan origin. Contact with the Indo- 174
Europeans from the earliest times cannot be denied. The Caucasus may very 141
well have been a corridor between Europe and Asia Minor for the Aryan migrations. R. Forrer (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVI, p. 247) is of the opinion that the Aryans, coming from the North, passed through the Caucasus as early as the first half of the third millenium B. C. Kretschmer (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LV, p. 97) and B. Hrozný (*Archiv Orientální*, III, p. 294) similarly maintain that the Indo-Europeans used the Caucasus as their route to the Near East, however, somewhat later than Forrer's conjecture, about 2,000 B. C. Other well-known scholars of the Indo-European question, e. g., H. Frankfort (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, p. 158), E. Meyer (*Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1925, p. 249), F. Schachermeyr (*Wanderungen und Ausbreitung der Indo-Germanen im Mittelmeergebiet*, Hirt-Festschrift, Heidelberg, 1936, I, pp. 235, 239)[11] believe that the Caucasus was undoubtedly used during the Indo-European migrations. Hybridization between the brachycephalic Caucasians and the dolichocephals must have begun quite early, as some of the prehistorical graves discovered in central Caucasus containing male dolichocephalic skulls and female

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[9] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[10] We wish to emphasize the words "to large extent." By no means do we wish to explain the complicated problem entirely by one factor alone. There was, for example, contact with the Turco-Mongols, *north* of the Caucasus, who were *brachycephalic*. Traces of this contact are noticeable especially in the Cherkess. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22, pp. 4 f. For example, there are also the Cro-Magnon race and the East Mediterranean dolicocephals who must be considered. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[11] Cf. F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 355 f., who cites the above-mentioned authoris.

141 174 brachycephalic remains testify. In other words, from these finds it is evident that crossing was not uncommon already during the Bronze Age.[12] Very important racially was the contact with the Cimmerians and Scythian-Sarmatian populations, who for centuries lived in the Caucasus, till in the fourth century B.C. they were driven southward to Subartu.[13] Some present-day Ossetine-speaking tribes are not of Indo-European origin while practically all have a strong non-Indo-European strain.[14]

141 144 According to C. S. Coon, "The Caucasic-speaking peoples as a whole, from an anthropometric standpoint, represent a blend between a local Alpine racial nucleus and several kinds of Mediterraneans. The Georgians and the Lesghians are the most Alpine, the Cherkesses the least so. The facial dimensions preclude, in most groups, the presence of a long-faced Irano-Afgan element in any quantity ; except among the Cherkesses, the head size, with mean lengths in the low 180's, limits the possible Mediterranean elements to the smaller-headed varieties. These are apparently both Danubian and Cappodocian ; there is too much true facial Dinaricism for the Danubian to be the only factor, and too much blondism and nasal concavity for the Cappadocian."[15]

§ 3. LINGUISTICS

197 Perhaps nowhere in the world will one find such an intricate mosaic of languages as in the Caucasus. Today there are about 40 different Caucasian languages, and formerly the number must have been much greater. Strabo (VI. 1—16) speaks of seventy languages along the coast of the Black Sea and 26 in Albania, that is, in Azerbaijan- and Armenian-speaking countries of today. Pliny speaks of 300 different languages at Dioscurias which necessitated 80 interpreters. Abulfeda calls the Caucasus "The Mountain of Tongues" and Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian historian of the tenth century, writes that "72 different nations inhabit the Caucasus."

These languages fall into three sharply distinct groups : the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and the Southern. (See pp. 1—4.)

1. Phonetics

194 The vowel system of all three groups, but especially of the Northwestern group, is very poorly developed. In Abkhazian there are only two basic vowels *a* and *ə*.[16] The preponderance of consonants over vowels is less marked in the Northeastern languages : the Chechen, Avaro-Andi, and Lak languages have the five *a, e, i, o, u,* vowels, and some languages, for example Kurin and Aghulian, have the equivalent of something between the German umlauts *ä, ö, ü,* and *a, o, u.*[17] The vowel system of the Southern group is the richest of the three.

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[12] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Ebert's Reallexikon*, VI, p. 250.

[13] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 4.

[14] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See his analysis of the racial problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—38.

[15] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 631 f.

[16] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), p. 65. Dirr assigns four basic vowels to Abkhazian. *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 29.

Diphthongs occur very seldom in the Caucasian languages, the strongest tendency to form such being in Chechen. 194

On the other hand, the poverty of the vocalic system is amply compensated for by the richness of the consonantal systems of the three groups, a fact especially true in regard to the languages belonging to the Northwestern branch. The Abkhazian language, which, as we have seen, has only two basic vowels, has as many as 70 different consonants.

The aspirated tenues *pʻ tʻ kʻ* occur in all three branches. Similarly, in all three groups we find glottocclusive tenues and affricates *p' t' k'* (*ts'*) *č'*. Lateral consonants (l°, r°, t', k°) are represented in all three groups: in the Northwestern by the Ubykhian and Kabardian languages, in the Northeastern by the Avaro-Andi sub-group, and in the Southern by the Tushian language. There are, besides these, many other interesting and unusual consonants. To mention but a few, we find in the Caucasian languages, for example, the so-called Polish ł or English *w*; then, there are interesting palatals, dorsals, labialized *ź* (something between *ž* and z, or less correctly what Dirr terms the "whistling sound" of *žzv*), reduced consonants, emphatic consonants. These are but a few examples showing the richness of the consonantal system of the Caucasic languages.[18]

2. The Class System

Words are divided not so much according to gender as to class, a phenomenon found in all three linguistic groups. In the Northwestern group we find the classes in Abkhazian, not however in Ubykhian or in Kabardian. The Abkhaz distinguish between rational and non-rational beings. The class system is most fully developed in the Northeastern group. Generally speaking, one class includes all rational beings male and female after puberty; whereas, one to four classes generally embrace all other beings. The language of the Bats (Chechen tribe in Tushetia)[19] and the Ingushi distinguish six classes; the Dargwa, Andi, Lak, Rutulian, Archi, Tsakhur languages have four classes in all; the Avaro-Andi sub-group has three; Tabassaranians distinguish between persons and things, while the Kurins, Aghulians and Udins no longer have the class system. In South Caucasia the system is either non-existent or is still in its initial stage of development.[20] 193

3. Numerals

The numerals of all Caucasic languages are based on the vigesimal system.[21] 802

4. Verbs

The Caucasian languages are distinguished for their extremely complicated verbal forms. In the Northwestern languages complete phrases and subordinate 193

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[17] A. Dirr, *l. c.*

[18] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 29—34. See also N. Trubetzkoj, "Die Konsonantensysteme der ostkaukasischen Sprachen," *Caucasica*, VIII.

[19] Dirr, less correctly, says eight classes are distinguishable in Bats.

[20] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 342 f.

[21] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 358—361.

193 sentences may be incorporated into the verbal form. Adverbial relations, temporal designations, direction, mood, and many other determinations are expressed by the verb form itself. To complicate matters, sometimes the original verb itself consists of only one consonant, which is lost in the numerous additions just mentioned and many others besides—infixes and suffixes that denote place, negation, question, relationship ; even substantives may be attached to the verb. The Northeastern languages distinguish between momentative, durative, iterative, and inchoative forms.[22] Verbal forms become exceedingly complicated in languages that not only distinguish between different classes of beings but also have the use of person, as is the case in the Dargwa language.

5. Declension

In the Northwestern languages the declension is extremely simple. (A declension is almost superfluous, for, as we have mentioned above, the verb is capable of incorporating all possible relationships.) Similarly, the declensions of the South Caucasian languages are simple. The Northeastern languages, however, possess a complicated declension. The instrumental is the most important case, the genitive and dative being derived from the instrumental. The agent is placed in the instrumental while the aim of the action is in the nominative.[23] The locative is also an important case : by means of suffixes a large number of adverbial relations can be expressed, e. g., *upward, toward, upon, against, over, into, etc*

6. Linguistic Relationships

197 Our first question is : Do the three Caucasian groups of languages constitute
14 a distinct linguistic family, as do, for example, the Indo-European languages ? Despite the similarities between the groups and despite the fact that Abkhazian seems to form a bridge between the Southern as well as the Northeastern languages,[24] sufficient evidence has not yet been brought forth to justify anyone in speaking of a common "Caucasian Family." As far as our present knowledge of the Caucasic languages goes, it is much more probable that there are three (or perhaps two, Northern and Southern) distinct families.

The affinity of the languages of Caucasia with other languages has been a favourite question among the Caucasologists, formerly much more than in recent times. Even the Marr School, once so eager to establish a " Japhetic " family not only within Caucasia but from the Pyrenees (the Basques) to Hindu Kush (Burushaski), including practically all languages of the ancient Near East, is more interested today in " stages " of these languages than in their affinity. Prof. Marr (d. 1934), the founder of the School, based his classification of the " Japhetic " languages on certain regular recurrences : a sibilant in one group of languages corresponded to a " spirant " in another and to sonants in a third. The position of certain languages within the scheme was, naturally, only tentative, while the position of others was considered more or less final. The following table shows Professor Marr's classification of the " Japhetic Family."

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[22] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos,* XXXII (1937), pp. 66, 68. G. Deeters, *Das khartvelische Verbum,* Leipzig, 1930.

[23] The ergative is used in the other groups too. Cf. C. Tagliavini, "Osservazioni sull'ergativo georgiano," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken, à l'occasion du soixantième anniversaire de sa naissance,* pp. 187—193.

[24] R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.,* p. 72. Today there is absolutely no doubt about Professor Bleichsteiner's opposition to a single "Caucasian Family" of languages : "Die drei eigentlichen kaukasischen Sprachgruppen sind weder untereinander noch mit anderen Sprachfamilien Eurasiens verwandt." ("Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte,* V (1944), No. 22, p. 15.)

Prof. Marr's Japhetic Family

- (1) Sibilant Branch
  - " s " Group — Georgian
  - " š " Group
    - Mingrelian
    - Lazian
- (2) Spirant Branch
  - Eastern Group
    - Southeastern languages
      - Ando
      - Didoian
      - Avarian
      - Lak
      - Kubachi
      - Hyrkanian
      - Archi
      - Kurin
        - Lesghian
        - Tsakhur
        - Aghulian
        - Tabassaranian
      - Udin
    - Northeastern languages
      - Chechenian
      - Ingushian
      - Tsova-Tushian
  - Northwestern Group
    - Adighé
      - Kabardian
      - Cherkess
    - Ubykhian
- (3) Sonant Branch
- (4) Mixed Languages
  - Spirant + " s " Group
    - Haykian
    - Abkhazian
    - Basque
    - Burushaski
  - Spirant + " š "
    - Hayish
    - Svanian
    - Etruscan
  - Spirant + Sonant Group
    - Elamitic
      - North Elamitic
      - South Elamitic (Hallapirti)
    - Sumerian
    - Vannish (Urartu-Biaina)

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Professor Marr and other linguists who have tried to establish a relationship between the Caucasian languages and the dead languages of Near East were actually attempting the impossible: no one knew (or knows today) what "Proto-Caucasian" might be, and this unknown language was being related to other unknown or little-known languages like Etruscan, Sumerian, Mitani, Elamitic, Lydian, Lycian, Cilician, Carian and Cappodocian.[25] A relationship between Basque and Abkhazian and South Caucasian is quite possible but not yet certain.[26] Similarly, the Burushaski language of Hindu Kush has doubtless many striking features in common with the languages of Daghestan,[27] but to say that these languages originated from a common parent-language is to assume more than has been proved.

Nevertheless these attempts were not totally fruitless. The intense research work carried out especially by the Marr School has brought to light not a few common and mutual influences. Even though we must reject as unfounded the claim of Bork, Winkler, Hüsing, and others that Elamitic is *related* to Caucasian, we cannot deny the strong mutual influence between ancient Georgian and Elamitic. The same holds in regard to Mitani and the language of Urartu: *affinity* to Georgian may be denied, but the *influences* common to ancient Georgian, Mitani and Urartu may not.

§ 4. PREHISTORY

1. Lower and Middle Paleolithic

There can no longer be any doubt about North and South Caucasus being inhabited since early Paleolithic times, as the prehistoric sites of Yshtakh, Kyurdere, Aragas, Ochemchiri and Ilskaya testify. The famous Mt. Yashtukh site was an accidental discovery made by Zamjatnin in 1934, about three miles north of the city of Sukhum.[28] These Lower Paleolithic remains include accidently formed side-scrapers, points from large flakes, and some fist hatchets (11.1 cm. long and 7 cm. wide). The Yashtukh artifacts are characterized by their crude chipping, broad, short, irregular, triangular flakes, and are of the Clactonian and Levalloisian culture level.[29]

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[25] Cf. M. Tseretheli, "Sumerian and Georgian," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1913), pp. 783—821. M. Tseretheli, "Rassen- und Kulturprobleme des Kaukasus," Heft 1 der Veröffentlichungen der deutsch-georgischen Gesellschaft.
F. Bork, "Die Mittanisprache," MVAG XIV (1909), pp. 1—126.
A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. iv.
H. Winkler, *Die Sprache der zweiten Kolonne der dreisprachigen Inschriften und das Altaische*, Breslau, 1896.
G. Hüsing, "Die Sprachen Elams," 86. *Jahresbericht der Schles. Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur*, Breslau, 1908.
G. Hüsing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, Part I, Leipzig, 1916.
G. Hüsing, "Der Zagros und seine Völker," *Der Alte Orient*, VIII (1908), No. 3—4, E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, London, 1930.

[26] G. Dumézil, "Langues caucasiennes et basque," *Festschrift für Herman Hirt*, Heidelberg, 1936, Vol. II.
R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen des Baskischen," WZKM, 1931.
K. Bouda, *Baskisch-Kaukasische Etymologien*, Heidelberg, 1949.

[27] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die werschickisch-burischkische Sprache," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, I (1930). Cf. also D. L. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Oslo, 1935.

[28] S. N. Zamjatnin, "Novyie dannye po paleolitu Zakavkaz'ja," SE, 1935, No. 2.

Zamjatnin is responsible also for the discovery of the Paleolithic site at Kyurdere near Psyrzkha, likewise in Abkhazia. The remains closely resemble the stone industry of Yashtukh and the Clactonian and Levalloisian types of Northern France, Belgium, and England.[30]

Zamjatnin again discovered a third Paleolithic site, about 50 miles south of Kyurdere, at Ochemchiri, on the coast of the Black Sea. The stone industry resembles that of Ilskaya (N. Caucasus) and is of the Middle Mousterian level.[31]

It is to be noted that these three sites are in Abkhazia, where a considerable number of other Paleolithic artifacts have been discovered. In 1934—35 as many as 15 sites were located in this relatively small area, eight of which are most likely Acheulean and seven Mousterian.[32]

And now, leaving Abkhazia and going north to the Province of Kuban, we find the site of Ilskaya, the very first Paleolithic discovery ever made in the Caucasus. Since Baron de Baye, its discoverer, was unable to make a thorough investigation of the site, other prehistorians later tried to continue the work begun by de Baye. Attempts to rediscover the site by N. J. Krištafovič (1903) and S. A. Krukowski (1916) were complete failures. Nine years later Zamjatnin was successful in locating the site, and then in 1926 and 1928 extensive and systematic excavations were undertaken under the able direction of A. A. Miller.[32] The finds at Ilskaya were very numerous and included typical points, drills, gravers, sidescrapers, and a few artifacts resembling fist hatchets. The Ilskaya remains show fine marginal retouching. The discoveries of 1928 established beyond question that bone also had been used as material for tools. The great variety of form, the one-sided marginal retouching (by pressure as well as by strokes), and the advanced stone technology in general are clear indications that Ilskaya is a highly developed Mousterian station,[34] and like Ochemchiri must be classified as Middle Mousterian. Judging by the large amount of animal remains, Ilskaya must have been an excellent hunting ground.

We have another Middle Mousterian site, in the Aragaz district (Transcaucasia), between Erivan and Leninakan. Here J. de Morgan came across a large number of Obsidian specimens: typical Mousterian points and sidescrapers, small fist hatchets, and discoid nuclei. Heavy marginal retouching characterize these artifacts.[35]

A number of Protolithic discoveries have been made in Crimea: the lower stratum at Kiik-Koba is Pre-Mousterian, while the upper is early Mousterian;

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[29] F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 69—73.

[30] Zamjatnin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[33] S. N. Zamjatnin, "Station moustérienne à Ilskaya, province de Kouban," *Revue Archeologique*, (Paris), 1929, pp. 282—295. Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 79—91.

[34] F. Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[35] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 75—78.

172 Chokchura is likewise Early Mousterian, while Shaitan-Koba (upper and lower) is Late Mousterian.[38]

2. Upper Paleolithic

A considerable number of Upper Paleolithic sites have been discovered in the Caucasus. Without going into detail we shall present a short survey of the Upper Paleolithic in the following table.

TABLE 3

Upper Paleolithic Sites in Caucasia

SITE	CIVILIZATION	DISCOVERER	SOURCES
1. Khergulis-Klde	Early Aurignacian	Krukowski, 1918	Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 f.
2. Mgvimevi	Late Aurignacian	Zamjatnin, 1934	Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 f.
3. Taro-Klade	Mousterian-Aurign.	Krakowski, 1918	Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 139
4. Kutais (i. e., Uvarov, Baratashvili, Rudolf-Virchov caves)	Late Aurignacian	R. R. Schmidt and Kozłowski, 1914	Obermeier, Ebert's Reallexikon, VI, p. 263
5. Gvardzhilas-Klde	Early Capsian	Krukowski, 1916—1917	S. A. Krukowski*
6. Devis-Khvreli	Late Aurignacian	Nioradze, 1926	G. K. Nioradze**
7. Stanitsa Sennaya	?	North Caucasian Expedition, 1926	Lunin,*** Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 154 f.
8. Stanitsa Bzhedukhovskaya	?		Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 154
9. Shelushkino	Tardenoisian (?)	A. A. Miller, 1925	A. A. Miller†

* S. A. Krukowski, "Peščera Gvardžilas-Klde v Rgani," *Izv. Kavkaz. Museja*, X (1916—1917), Tiflis, pp. 1—5.

** G. K. Nioradze, "Paläolithicum Georgiens," *Transactions*, V, pp. 227—236.

*** B. V. Lunin, "Archeologičeskie raskopki i razvedki na Severnom Kavkaze v 1927 g.," *Materialy po archeologii jugo-vost. Rossii*, 1928.

† A. A. Miller, "Kratkij otčet o rabotach Severo-Kavkazskoj ekspedicii Akademii Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury v 1924 i 1925 gg." *Soobščenija Gosudarstvennaja* Akademija Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury, Leningrad, 1936, p. 82. For the above data and further details see Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 138—158.

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[38] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 35—69.

It is beyond the least shadow of doubt that Paleolithic food gatherers inhabited the coast of Abkhazia and the regions of Kuban and Rion. The Mousterian people of Caucasia must have been excellent hunters, if we are to judge from the large amount of skeletal remains of wild animals found at the various sites, especially remains of bison, mammoth, wolves, foxes, etc. Hunting was by far more important economically than plant gathering. The horde was the social unit of the Mousterian Caucasians, each horde numbering perhaps 50 to about 100 individuals. The dead were buried with great care and reverence ; a heap of flint flakes was usually placed at the side of the corpse, a fact clearly showing that these hunters believed in an hereafter, where they would continue their venatorial life.[37] The Mousterian hunters of the Caucasus belonged to the Neanderthal race and possessed the same material culture, economy, sociology, and ideology as the Crimeans and Neanderthal men of Southern France.[38]

The late Paleolithic period was cold and uncomfortable. Nevertheless, there was still enough plant life to insure sufficient prey for the hunters. As protection against the cold, men began to seek shelter in caves and grottoes. They were no longer the wandering hunters of old, but lived in semi-permanent dwellings. Their hunting equipment was greatly improved and thus hunting itself was simplified, giving them leisure and plenty of time for art, for not until the Aurignacian do we find signs of ornamentation and rock engravings.[39]

3. Mesolithic (Azilian-Tardenoisian)

With the change of climate, the Azilian-Tardenoisian epoch saw great changes in fauna and flora, and the corresponding changes in economic life. The Azilian Caucasians, however, continued to live in Aurignacian dwellings, the first change in this regard being noticeable only in the Tardenoisian. Microliths and arrow-heads begin to play a very important part. The Azilian-Tardenoisian hunters used bows, harpoons, and lances, but in spite of the improved implements, hunting did not constitute the most important means of livelihood ; for, with the disappearance of ice plant-life, larvae, insects, and especially snails abounded, making food gathering more important than hunting.[40] Because the main food was easily available, the dwellings were more or less permanent. The camps, of course, were seasonal. It was during this period that the dog was domesticated, a fact which greatly facilitated the hunting of such animals as the wild pig and deer, and, whenever necessary, the dog was slaughtered and consumed.[41] Among the more important Azilian sites are those of Gvardzhilas-Klde, Shan-Koba, and Syuren II ; the more important Tardenoisian sites are those of Kukrek, Kizil-Koba, Upper Shan-Koba, Cherkess-Kermen, and Fatma-Koba.[42]

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[37] I. I. Meščaninov, Vvedenie v jafetiologiju (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 14 f.

[38] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 ff., 172, 174, 178.

[39] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 f.

[40] The importance of snails as food is evidenced by the large amount of shells found in the Tardenoisian stratum of Shan-Koba.

[41] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 f.

[42] For an excellent survey of these finds see Hančar's Tabelle XII, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

4. The Neolithic Civilization

172 Among the more important Neolithic sites of the Caucasus area are those of Erivan (River Tsanga), Shamiramalti, Nakhichevan, Novorossisk, and *Kurgan I* of Nalchik.[43]

This period saw flourishing vineyards, vegetable gardens, and orchards spring up in southern and western Caucasus. The hunters and food gatherers have become agriculturalists, but unlike the European Neolithic population, they have immediately learned the use of metal. Owing to the proximity of the Caucasians to the great cultural centres, and to the rich deposits of copper in the Mountains, a typical Neolithic without the knowledge of metal has perhaps *never* existed in the Caucasus. Nevertheless, we have here a *true* Neolithic, for the distinguishing feature of the Neolithic is neither metal nor the megaliths, but the economic change from food gathering to food production. Even the vishaps, dolmens, and the Cyclopian constructions, which some falsely classify as Neolithic on account of their Megalithic character, are, doubtless, only pseudo-Neolithic and belong to a more recent period.[44]

The Neolithic inhabitants, it should be noted, were not only agrarians but also animal-breeders, who raised pigs, sheep, cattle, horses, and perhaps donkeys.[45]

Hunting retained much more of its former importance in North Caucasus than it did in Transcaucasia. Most probably the social organization of northern and southern Caucasus was matriarchal.[46]

The Caucasian Neolithic ushers in the abundant use of obsidian, a phenomenon which continues to the time of the Scythian domination over North Caucasus. That obsidian should become such an important material may very well be attributed to various factors : the needs arising from the new economic life, the nature of obsidian itself (its sharp, glassy edges), and the abundance of obsidian in the Caucasus. These obsidian objects are clear evidence of a vigorous agrarian civilization.[47]

5. Copper Age, etc.

Caucasian Copper Age sites are numerous indeed. To mention but a few—there are, for example, the so-called princely burial mounds of Ul, Kostromskaya, Maikop, and Vozdvizhenskaya ; then there are the ordinary graves and the numerous finds as those of Privolnoe, Kostromskaya, Dolinskoye, and Staromyshastovskaya.[48]

The sites may be divided into three distinct groups : the Nalchik, the Kuban (Maikop, Novosvobodnaya-Tsarskaya, Vozdvizhenskaya, etc.), and Kuban-Terek group.

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[43] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 211—228.

[44] Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 212 ; "Aus der Problematik Urartus," Archiv Orientální XVII (1949), Part I, p. 306.

[45] Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, p. 238.

[46] For detailed account of the Caucasian Neolithic see Hančar, *op. cit.*, 211—241.

[47] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 236 f.

[48] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 242—289.

TABLE 4

The Copper Age in North Caucasia[*]

STAGES	NALCHIK	KUBAN[***]	KUBAN-TEREK
LOCATION	Nalchik area	Northwestern Caucas.	North Cauc. Foreland
ECONOMY	Hunting (with some primitive hoe culture)[**]	Cattle-breeding and trade (some hoe culture and perhaps hunting)[**]	Sheep-, goat-, and horse-breeding, and a highly developed hoe culture[**]
SOCIETY	Probably matriarchal sibs	Probably matriarchal sibs; however, distinct rise of male importance through leadership in trade, war, and religion	Probably matriarchal sibs with rise of male importance through trade, metallurgy, and cattle-breeding
METALLURGY	First acquaintance with copper (sc., through import)	Import of copper objects; beginning of own copper work	Highly developed local metallurgy
EXTRA-CAUCASIAN RELATIONS		Intensive trade with cultural centres of ancient Near East; sudden cessation of same	Temporary trade relations with the Danube peoples

[*] Based on Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

[**] Non-nomadic.

[***] The Kuban finds date from 2400—1900 B. C. See Hančar, "Alăcă Höyük," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, XI (1938), pp. 27—35.

The most important Transcaucasian site is that of Tsalka, west of Tiflis, which dates from about 1800—1500 B. C.[49]

The Bronze Age finds are extremely numerous. A "Bronze Age" in the sense in which we find it in other parts of the world cannot be referred to the Caucasus. The Kuban-Terek stage of the Copper Age already had the knowledge of bronze.

The Cimmerian kingdom (c. 1000 B. C.) and the Scythians (700—300 B. C.) now appear on the scene.[50]

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[49] Hančar, "Die bemalte Keramik Transkaukasiens im Lichte neuer Funde," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, (Berlin), XIV (1944), No. 5—6, p. 288.

[50] Cf. Hančar, "Die Ausweitung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Blick nach Osten*, 1949, No. 1—2, pp. 51—61.
E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.
Hančar, "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII-LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

§ 5. History

000 Just as we have omitted the Cimmerian problem and the many interesting facts regarding the Scythians when speaking of the archaeology of the Caucasus, so too in our historical survey we must omit many an important fact and problem. We wish here merely to present a short sketch, as a preliminary orientation. We shall have occasion to speak of certain periods more in detail later on.

175 [173] The NORTHWESTERNERS. According to legend, the Cherkess were at one time a powerful pastoral people, occupying an extensive area north of the Caucasus. Although it is impossible to say just when the Cherkess immigrated and from where, we do know that they must have made the Caucasus their home long before the ancient writers were aware of their existence. The Latin and Greek writers speak of them as the Zygoi, Zinkhoi, Syndi, Kerketaioi, and Kerketai. It seems that from very early times enemies had been driving the Cherkess towards the mountains. In the fourteenth century of our era, the coastal tribes were forced farther south, till they finally occupied a sector between various Turco-Tartaric peoples, the Nogai, Kumyks, Karachai, and Taulu. The land they occupied was called Kabarda and they are known today as the Kabardians. In 1777 the Russians drove the remaining Cherkess beyond the Kuban, Malka, and Terek, and finally completely conquered them. Rather than submit to the Russian czar, a large number of Northwesterners (400,000 strong, Cherkess, Abkhaz, and all the Ubykhs) preferred to leave their homeland and migrate to Asia Minor, Syria, and the Balkans.

The Abkhaz were known to Pliny and Arrian as the Apsils and to the Georgian Chronicler as Ap'shili and Ap'sari. In the first centuries after Christ the Abkhaz were subjects of the Georgian kings; then of the Laz; then in the eighth century of their own independent kings; in the tenth century they again became subjects of Georgian kings, through marriage of the respective royal families. They were finally subjected to the Russians in 1863.

The Northwesterners were Christianized, according to Vakhtang's Chronicle, about A. D. 40. This report of course is not reliable. It is a fact, however, that they became Christians after the Byzantine occupation of the coastal cities. Emperor Justinian is supposed to have built a large church at Pitzunda, which became the seat of the Abkhazian *katholicos* ("patriarch" or "archbishop"). In the last decades of the seventeenth century all the Abkhazian tribes (with the exception of the Samursakhanians) became Mohammedans. The Cherkess were also Christians, before their conversion to Islamism in the eighteenth century.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The origin of the Chechens and their early history is unknown. They too were Christianized quite early, perhaps in the fourth century. They accepted the Koran in the seventeenth and eighteenth century; the Ingushi, however, were not completely converted to Mohammedanism till 1862. The Chechens, we also know, have been constantly menaced by the Turco-Mongols since the time of Chingis-Khan. Later they even invited foreign princes to rule over them and defend them against the Kumyks and Kabardian raiders. Last century they fought valiantly against the Russians in the Murid wars under the leadership of Gazi-Mollah and Shamyl.

The Lesghians were known to the classical writers as the "Lesghi." The early history of the various Lesghian peoples is uncertain. Before their conversion to Islamism in the eighth century they were worshippers of Ahura Mazda. Shamyl, the famous prophet, reformer, warrior, and leader, was a Lesghian. 175

The history of the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS is much better known. The ancient Latin and Greek writers speak of the kingdoms of Colchis, Lazica, Albania, and Iberia. The Scythians ruled over Georgia in the seventh century. Later the Georgian kingdoms were forced to recognize the Roman protectorate. Pompey conquered the Albanians in 66 B. C., Iberia in 65 B. C., and Colchis in 63 B. C. In A. D. 224, the Sassanidae attacked East Georgia ; Diocletian quickly came to the aid of the Caucasians, conquered the Persians, and thus Iberia was once again subject to the Romans. Christianity was declared the state religion of Georgia under Constantine the Great.

The OSSETES are most probably the descendents of the Alans, and therefore of the Scythians as well. They seem to be the descendents of some survivors who took refuge in the mountains. In the first century A. D., we know, they occupied the area between the Don and the Sea of Azov. Then, in the ninth century they were driven southward by the Khazars, in the twelfth century by the Mongols, and finally, in the fourteenth century by the Kabardians, who themselves were being driven into the mountains by the Tartars.

The TURCO-TARTARS. The Karachai are most probably the descendents of Tartars who had been forced to occupy an isolated valley in the mountains. The Taulu are perhaps descendents of the Tartars who lived in the steppes of Kuma. After their city (Madzhar) had been destroyed in 1408, they sought refuge in the Caucasus.[51]

§ 6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Most ethnographers and ethnologists are under the false impression that only very little has been published about the Caucasus. This impression has been created, first of all, because most of the material has been written in a strange language—strange to English, French, German, and Italian speaking scientists—Russian. And even if the student of Caucasian culture has a fair knowledge of Russian, he must still face an even more discouraging difficulty. This Russian material is scattered in periodicals that are difficult to find even in the best non-Russian libraries, scattered in rare magazines or books that appeared in extremely small editions exclusively for members of learned societies and finally were shelved and forgotten in an obscure corner of some small library. These are the obstacles one must face in one's search for pre-Soviet sources. The more recent (Soviet) publications, especially recent Georgian publications, are very poorly represented outside the U.S.S.R., even in the large 114 national libraries. The final difficulty for the Soviet as well as for the non-Soviet cultural anthropologist, lies in the fact that the Caucasus has not been studied systematically, though in recent years this obvious neglect has been taken more and more into account. Thus, for example, more literature is found about the Cherkess than any other people in the Caucasus, and still, of all the Caucasians these people are the least known.

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[51] Cf. Byhan, "Die kaukasischen Völker," Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* III, pp. 671—675, 749 f., 774 f., 799 f., 835 ; A. Sanders, *Kaukasien, Nordkaukasien, Aserbeidschan, Armenien, Georgien, Geschichtlicher Umriss*, Munich, 1944 ; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People from the beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1932 ; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, Die Mongolen in Russland 1223—1502*, Leipzig, 1943.

The late John F. Baddeley, who spent many years in Russia as a correspondent for the London *Standard* in St. Petersburg and who was in close touch with various diplomats, was constantly collecting these scattered works, till he could claim one of the finest collections of Russian sources on the Caucasus anywhere to be found in Western or Central Europe. His collection includes some very rare and perhaps even unique books and magazines. Without the use of this excellent collection (now at the London Library, St. James's Square) such a work as this would hardly be possible. The British Museum and the various libraries in Vienna have made some of the more recent material accessible to me.

1. A General Historical Conspectus of Ethnographical Data about the Caucasus

Ethnographical data are the tools of the ethnologist, without which he is as helpless as an archaeologist without his finds.

(1) **Ancient Literature.** The Caucasus and its immediate vicinity was known to the ancient Greeks even long before Herodotus (480—425 B. C.), but to all these writers it was a land of fables and myths.[52] It was Herodotus who first broke away from fiction and offered some reliable data, for which we are still thankful today.[53] Several centuries later Strabo too left something more

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[52] Homer (c. 850 B. C.) *Illiad*, iii. 188 ; vi. 186. (The Amazons). *Odyssey*, x. 135 ; xii. 1 ; xii. 69—72 ('Αργώ).
Hesiod (fl. 776 B. C.) *Theogonia*, vs. 340, speaking of the Φᾶσις.
Mimnermus (fl. c. 630—600 B. C.) mentions the 'Ιήσων.
Hecataeus (c. 550 B. C.) speaks of various Caucasian tribes and neighbours : Μελάγχλαινοι, Μάκρωνες. etc.
Aeschylus (c. 525—456) narrates the story of Prometheus.
Pindar, (522—448 B. C.) *Pythian* speaks of the Phasis and Κόλχοι.
Scylax (521—485 B. C.) *Periplous* mentions Ταναις, Σαυρομάται, Μαιῶται, Σίνδοι, Κερκέται, Μελάγχλαινοι, Κόλχοι, Μακροκέφαλοι, Μοσσύνοικοι Τιβαρηνοι.
Hippocrates, (born c. 460 B. C.) " Air, Earth and Locality " §§ 13—17.

[53] Herodotus i. 2, 103 f ; 201—204 ; ii. 103 ff ; iii. 92 ff, 97 ; iv. 11 f, 28, 37 f, 40, 45 f, 86, 110—117, 123 ; vi. 84 ; vii. 62, 67, 78 ; ix.
Other writers of about this time who refer to the Caucasus in their works are :
Hellanicus, fragments 84, 87, 92, 109.
Ctesias, *Persica* vii. 81 ; Aelian 17, 34.
Xenophon, (born c. 430) *Anabasis*, iv. 1—8 ; v. 2, 4, 5.
Plato (born c. 427 B. C.) " Laws," vi. refers to the Σαυροματίδες.
Pherecydes (c. 430—400 B. C.).
Aristotle (384—322 B. C.) *Meteorologica*, i. 13 ; ii. 1.
Apollonius Rhodius (c. 295—215 B. C.) *Argonautica*, ii. 370, 393, 970, 1015, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1142, 1204, 1244, 1264 ; iii. 198, 213, 235, 340, 828, 1214, 1225 ; iv. 131, 219.
Polybius (c. 202—120) v. 55.
Apollodorus (c. 140 B. C.) *Bibliotheke* (a work wrongly attributed to Apollodorus !).

reliable than mere fables.[84] Among the earliest Roman writers were Plinius Secundus and Pomponius Mela.[85]

After Dionysius Periegetes and Claudius Ptolemy, for about 200 years, very little was written about the Caucasians. It was Ammianus Marcellinus who again took up the pen, to leave us some useful notes about the Caucasians of his time.[56] An exact study of these classical and post-classical writers will prove very useful for the study of Caucasology. A number of attempts have been made[57] but the greatest of all difficulties, localization of the reports, and the multiplicity of names still remain to be untangled.

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[84] Strabo (c. 64 B. C.—19 A. D.) i. 1—3 ; ii. 1, 4 f ; vi. 4 ; x. 3 ; xi. 1 f., 10—19 ; xii. 3.

[85] Cicero (106—43 B. C.) "Tusculan disputations," ii. 10.
Sallust (35 B. C.) *Historia*, iii. fr. 46, 48 ; iv. fr. 18.
Virgil (70—19 B. C.) *Georgics* ii. 440 ; *Aeneid* i. 490.
Horace (65—8 B. C.) *Carmina*, i. 22, 5 ; *Epodes*, iii. 9 ; v. 21 ; xvii. 35.
Ovid (43 B. C.—A. D. 18) *Epistolae ex Ponto*, iv ; x. 51 f. *Metamorphoses*, ii. 224 ; vii. 6 ; viii. 798.
Seneca (c. 4 B. C.—A. D. 65) *Thysestes*, 369 ; *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1449 ; *Hercules furens*, 1204, 1326.
Theodore of Sicily (c. 50—25 B. C.) *Bibliotheca historica*, ii. 43—46 ; iv, 45—48 ; xiv. 24—31 ; xvii. 75 ff. (Scythians and Amazons).
Livy (59 B. C.—A. D. 17) *Periochae* Bk. CI.
Memnon (c. 25 B. C.).
Propercius (c. 50—16 B. C.) *Elegies*.
Velleius Paterculus (19 B. C.—A. D. 40) *Historiae Romanae* II. 33, 37, 40, 82, 94, 100, 102, 122.
Pomponius Mela (A. D. 15—60) *De situ orbis*, Bk. III.
Pliny the Elder (A. D. 23 or 24—A. D. 79) *Naturalis Historiae*, ii. 106 ; iii. 3, 23, 26 ; iv. 17 ; v. 27 ; vi. 1, 4—7, 10, 12, 15 f, 16, 18 ; vii. 2, 27 ; viii. 50, 60 ; x. 67 ; xx. 95 ; xxv. 100 ; xxxiii. 15, 37.
Josephus Flavius "Early History of the Jews" i. 6 ; xviii. 4. "History of the Jewish Wars" ii. 16 ; vii. 7.
Petronius Arbiter (d. A. D. 65) *Satires*.
Lucan (A. D. 39—65) *Pharsalia*, ii. 590 ; iii. 264.
Tacitus (c. A. D. 55—117) *Annals*, ii. 68 ; vi. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 ; xi. 8, 9 ; xii. 44—48, 50 ; xiii. 6, 37 ; xiv. 23, 25. *Historiae* i. 6.
Plutarch (c. A. D. 46—120) *Pompey*, xxxiii—xxxvi ; xlv. *Alexander the Great*, xliv ; xlvi. *Luculus*, xiv ; xxvi.
Suetonius *XII Vitae Imperatorum*, i. 22 ; iii. 8, 41 ; iv. 1 ; v. 25, 40 ; viii. 2.
Pausanias (c. A. D. 160) *Hellados Periegesis*, i. 2, 15, 17, 21, 32, 41 ; iii. 19, 24, 25 ; iv. 31, 34 ; v. 10 f ; vii. 27 ; viii. 27 ff.
Dionysius Periegetes (c. A. D. 90) *Orbis Descriptio*, §§ 488, 652, 679, 719, 1020. (See also Eustathius's commentary to Dionysius Periegetes 12th century A. D.)
Quintus Curtius (A. D. 41—79) *De Rebus Alexandri*, iv. 5 ; vi. 5 ; vii. 3 f.
Arrian (c. A. D. 95—175) *Periplous. Anabasis*.
Pseudo-Plutarch (c. A. D. 98—138) *De fluviorum et mortuum nominibus*, v. Φασις ; xiv. Τανάϊς; xv. Θερμῴδων; xxxiii. 'Αράξης.
Aelian (fl. c. A. D. 200) "On the Characteristics of Animals," iv. 9 ; v. 27, 42 ; vi. 24, 65 ; vii. 35 ; ix. 59 ; xi. 29 ; xvii. 10, 17, 31, 33, 34, 38. "Historical Miscellanies," iii. 39 ; iv. 1 ; v. 21 ; fragment 135.
Appian of Alexandria (fl. c. A. D. 160) "Roman History," Proemium, §§ 2, 4 ; *Mitridates*, §§ 13, 15, 64, 69, 78, 101, 103, 104, 107, 108, 113, 114, 117. 120.
Claudius Ptolomey (c. A. D. 120—170) v. 8—11. *Bellum Thracium*, I. xxxviii. *Bellum Mithridaticum*, I. xxxviii ; II. xiii.
Justin (2nd or 3rd century A. D.) xxiv. 2 ; xlvii. 5.
Dio Cassius (c. A. D. 150—235) "Roman History," lviii. 26 ; lxix. *Historia Augusta* (117—284) by Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinius, Vocatius Gallicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio and Flavius Vopiscus contains some passing references to the Caucasus.
Philostratus (2nd and 3rd century A. D.) *Heroicus*, ccxi. 24 ; ccxv. 30 ; ccxvi. 12 ; ccxvii. (About the Amazons.)
Solinus (3rd century A. D.) *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ix. 19 ; xv. 5, 17, 19 ; xix. 4, 19 ; xxxviii. 11 ; xlix. 6 ; lii. 50.

(2) **Byzantine Writers.** *Memoriae Populorum, olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad Septentriones incolentium e Scriptoribus Historiae Byzantinae erutae et digestae a Joanne Gotthilf Strittero, Gymnasii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae Conrectore* is a large four-volume collection of Byzantine writings, each volume being about 1,000 pages. Volume III and IV treat of the Caucasus and immediate vicinity.[58] A long article about the Byzantine writers appeared in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza* IX (1890) No. 1, pp. 1—213, "Iberija po Byzantizskimi pisateljam" ("Iberia according to Byzantine writers").

(3) **Medieval Arabian Writers.** A considerable amount has been written by the Arabs in the Middle Ages and much of this material is still extant. We shall make use of al-Mas'ûdi's "Murûj aḍ-ḍahab wa ma'âdin al-jawâhir"[58a] written about A. D. 943) as well as of passing references from other authors. The

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[56] Ammianus Marcellus (c. A. D. 390) in his continuation of the history of Tacitus, xxi. 7; xxii. 7, 8, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 46, 47, 48; xxiii. 5, 6; xxv. 7; xxvii. 12; xxxi. 2, 3.
Sextus Aurelius Victor (c. A. D. 350) *De viris illustribus*, lxxvii. 5.
Eutropius (fl. A. D. 364—378) *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, vi. 14; viii. 3.
Rufus Festus (c. A. D. 365) *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani.*
Lucius Ampelius (c. A. D. 380) *Liber Memorialis.*
Agathemeros (1—3rd. century A. D.). (A short anonymous geographical guide.)
Claudian (Claudius Claudianus) (fl. c. A. D. 400).
Marcian (c. A. D. 410); Zosimus (c. A. D. 550); Vibius Sequester; Stephan of Byzantine (c. A. D. 500); Julius Honorius (c. A. D. 590).
To this long list of authors we must add the following Greek writers: Dionysius of Mileta, Herodorus Heracleensis, Sophaenetus Stymphalius, Heraclides Ponticus, Aristocsene of Tarentum, Palaephatus Abydenus, Nymphodorus of Syracuse, Duris Samius, Mnases Patrensis, Ptolemy Energetes, Agatharchides Cnidus, Metrodorus Scepsius, Alexander Polyhistor, Posidonius Aramensis, Nicolaus Damascene, Thrasyllus Mendesius, Arrian Nicomedensis, Phlegon Trallianus, Nicanor Alexandrinus, Charax Pergameus, Asinius Quadratus, Dexippus Atheniensis, Eunapius Sardianus, Priscus Panites and others.
For the above passages see C. Hahn, "Izvěstija drevnich grečeskich pisatelej o Kavkazě," *Materialy dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen kavkaza*, IV (1884), No. 1, pp. 1—248.

[57] Cf. G. H. Lünemann, Descriptio Caucasi ex Strabone, comparatis scriptoribus recentioribus (imprimis Gueldenstaedt), 1803. C. Hahn, "Kratkija izvěstija drevnich pisatelej o kavkazě", MOMPK II (1882), No. 1, pp. 18—44. C. Hahn, "Izvěstija drevnich grěčeskich i rimskich pisatelej o kavkazě," SMOMPK IV (1884), No. 1, pp. 1—248. E. Eichwald, *Alte Geographie des Caspischen Meeres, des Kaukasus und des südlichen Rußlands, nach griechischen, römischen und anderen Quellen* (Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere in den Caucasus, 1825—6, vol. I [in two parts] and vol. II, Stuttgart, 1834—1838). C. Hahn, Aus dem Kaukasus, pp. 1—34. John F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, Appendix C, "Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks".

[58] Petropoli, Impensis Academiae Scientiarum Tom III, 1777; IV, 1779.

[58a] "Golden Meadows and Jewelmines." For more about this author see, Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* I (Weimar, 1898), pp. 143—145; *op. cit.* Supplementary volume (Leiden, 1937), pp. 220—221.

Arabian writers of the Middle Ages do not lack value for the study of the Caucasus, but since they are mostly fanatical Mohammedans, "the chosen children of Allah," describing the conduct and morals of "infidels" much is unreliable. Karaulov has written a series of articles about these writers, likewise published in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza,* "Svěděnija arabskich pisatelej o Kavkazě, Armenii i Aderbejdžaně"[59] ("Reports of Arabian Writers about the Caucasus, Armenia and Azerbeijan").

(4) **Medieval Persian Writers.** A short treatise about the Persian writers of the Middle Ages can be found in the *Izvěstija Kavkazskago Otděla I. R. G. O.*, "Materialy dlja drevnej geografii Zakavkaz'ja po persidskim istočnikam" ("Data for Ancient Geography of Transcaucasia from Persian Sources").[60]

(5) **Medieval Georgian Writers.** M. Džanašvili's excellent study of Georgian sources was printed in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza:* "Izvěstija gruzinskich lětopisej i istorikov o sěvernom Kavkazě i Rossii. Opisanie Osetii, Dzurazukii, Didoztii, Tušetii, Alanii, i Džiketii. O carjach Chazaetii, Alguziani,"[61] and "Izvěstija gruzinskich lětopisej i istorikov o Chersonisě, Goteii, Osetii, Chazarii, Digoetii i Rossii."[62] These two articles (310 pages) will provide sufficient bibliography.

(6) **Other Medieval Writers.** Without going into detail, it is worth noting that a number of Russian and Armenian works of the Middle Ages are still extant. There is also the famous *Derbend Nameh* collection of works by various Tartar historians.

(7) **Writers of the 15-17th century.** Among the first strictly ethnographical works are those of Interiano, a Genoese,[63] John de Lucca and Olearius. Interiano's *Della vita dei Zychi chiamati Circassi*[64] is an excellent little work, admirable for its simplicity and relative freedom from exaggeration. This sixteenth century travel documentary as well as the work of the Dominican Missionary John de Lucca, *Relations des Tartares, Pericopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, Mingréliens et Géorgiens,* will be of great help in determining more exactly certain pre-Islamic customs in present-day Caucasian life.

(8) **1700—1775.** To this period belong especially the works of Potocki *Voyage dans les pays du Caucase* (Paris, 1798) and *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase* (Paris, 1829) and John Hanway's *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea: with a journal of travels*

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[59] XXIX (1901), No. 1, pp. 1—73; XXXI (1902), No. 1, pp. 1—57; XXXII (1903), No. 1, pp. 1—63; XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, pp. 1—130.

[60] I (1872—1873), pp. 131—136.

[61] XXII (1897), No. 1, pp. 1—206.

[62] XXVI (1899), No. 1, pp. 1—104.

[63] Ramusio, *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583). See also Manuzio, *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Constantinopoli: con la descrittione particolare di città, luoghi siti, costumi, della porta del gran Turco: di tutte le intrate spece, modo di governo suo et della ultima impresa contra Portoghesi. Vinegi 1545.*

[64] The full title is: *Della vita dei Zychi altrimenti chiamati Circassi Georgiano Interiano, Genovese, a. M. Aldo Manutio, Romano.* It was first edited in 1559, then re-edited several times, in 1574, 1583, 1606, 1613, and translated into German by Klaproth in his *Reisen in den Kaukasus*, chapter XXVII.

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from London through Russia, Germany and Holland, to which are added the revolutions of Persia during the present century, with the particular history of the great usurper Nadir Kouli (London, 1753).

(9) **1775—1850.** In this period not only does the ethnographical material begin to increase and reach considerable proportions but the investigations carried out by the authors are scientific in nature. Actual fieldwork is being done. The writers are therefore no longer mere casual travellers but fieldworkers in the strictest sense. Although the method and scholarship of these explorers does not come up to that of modern ethnographers, their works have a special value because they are the products of expeditions prior to the rapid modern acculturation. The first scientific expedition was undertaken by Professor Güldenstädt at the request of the Empress of Russia to penetrate the wild regions of Caucasus, to classify the peoples (her subjects) according to their languages and to study the natural history of the land. The results of Güldenstädt's fieldwork were published in several books, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder* (Berlin, 1834), *Reisen durch Rußland und im kaukasischen Gebirge* (St. Petersburg, 1787), *Reisen nach Georgien und Imerethi* (Berlin, 1815). Soon afterwards some excellent works of travel and some purely scientific works appeared, such as those of Reineggs, Pallas, Steder, Klaproth, Bodenstedt, Dubois de Montpéreux, Longworth, Spencer, Neuman and Wagner.

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(10) **1850—1920.** The Caucasians are still analphabetic except for the Georgians and Armenians, and are unaffected by modern civilization. This is a period of much travel and good field work, e. g., by Radde, Hahn, Erckert, Abercromby, and others. Several large series of periodicals devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus are published.[65] Valuable collections of customary laws *(adats)* made—to mention only *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, a collection of customary laws which we shall have endless opportunity to cite. In a word this is a productive period.

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(11) **Soviet Caucasus, Caucasology Today.** Considerable progress has been made in the last decades. In linguistics, for example, if we compare Güldenstädt's or Pallas' first attempts with the results attained by Erckert and then if we compare Erckert's achievements with those of the great geniuses like Professor Marr, Prince Trubeskoj and Adolf Dirr, we must say the progress is gratifying. Although Erckert's linguistic contributions contain countless and very serious errors, his work by far surpasses those of Güldenstädt and Pallas, but again compared with modern linguists Erckert is hardly anything more than an untrained amateur. Although the advance made in Caucasian linguistics must be attributed mainly to the work done by the Soviet scholars, such capable linguists as Dirr, Bleichsteiner, Deeters, Dumézil and the contributors to the *Caucasica* must not be overlooked.

Greater progress has been made in prehistory than in any other branch of Caucasology. The activity of the Marr School and Hančar's unparalleled work, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens* are sufficient evidence of the advance made in this field.

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[65] See *infra* pp. 33 f.

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The *ethnologist*, however, cannot boast of such progress. Interest in strictly ethnological questions, even among Soviet scholars, is not so intense as it should be or as it is in regard to other branches of Caucasology. Nevertheless we may speak of progress. In pre-Soviet times the writers and fieldworkers did not venture beyond mere ethnography, and if by way of exception Kovalevskij did, his conclusions are merely a restatement of evolutionistic tenets. Today ethnology of the Caucasus is practically a monopoly of the Soviet scholars. Since the Revolution the number of strictly ethnological articles and books by non-Soviet authors is astoundingly small. In the bibliography of E. G. Kagarov, "Inostrannaja literatura po etnografii Kavkaza za poslednie 10 let" ("Foreign ethnographical literature on the Caucasus published in the last 10 years")[66] we can hardly find half a dozen works not written by Russians or Georgians, which we may more or less call ethnological.[67] English is not represented at all! This almost complete lack of interest on the part of non-Soviet ethnologists is no doubt greatly responsible for the relative lack of progress realized up to the present.

A closer analysis of Soviet ethnology will reveal, first of all, that this branch takes only a secondary place among the interests of the Caucasologists. Moreover, it will reveal that the Soviet ethnologist, by his very profession, is obliged to oppose the doctrines of his bourgeois colleague. By his interpretations and historical reconstructions of Caucasian culture he must show himself to be "a zealous Soviet patriot of his socialistic fatherland," as the *Pravda* of December 11, 1948, characterizes him.[68] In fact, the formal object of Soviet ethnology is none other than to prove that the theories of Marx and Engels are "not theories" at all but "facts."[69] Engels, Marx, Lenin, or Stalin must be quoted in all scientific works, otherwise the author may be accused of "heretical" teaching.[70] Since the Caucasus is an "ethnographic museum," the Soviet ethnologist is convinced that although limiting his studies to the Caucasian peoples, he can prove the "*universally* valid" principles of Communism, the origin of religion, the origin of state, the origin of class strife, and, finally, that economic conditions are primarily and almost exclusively responsible for any given culture. In a word, a good Soviet ethnologist is one who distinguishes himself in "two virtues—orthodoxy and positive enthusiastic patriotism."

Although the ethnologists are lagging behind, the *ethnographers* are maintaining the pace set by the other groups of Caucasologists. Very few pre-Soviet

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[66] *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 274 f.

[67] To this list we must add R. Bleichsteiner's excellent study *Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker*. In Kagarov's bibliography we find a number of ethnological works in German by Russian and Georgian authors, as for instance Ladyženskij and Nioradze.

[68] Cf. I. I. Potechin, "Zadači bor'by s kosmopolitizmom v etnografii," SE, 1949, No. 2, pp. 25 f.

[69] For a classical example see D. K. Zelenin, "Problema pervobytnoj religii," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 3—17.

[70] See Ladyženskij's defense against the accusation of "heresy" for failing to quote Marx and Lenin, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 234.

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or non-Soviet ethnographers of today might be compared with such scholars as Čursin or Pčelina, to mention but two leading Soviet ethnographers. Present Soviet ethnography distinguishes itself by its exactness and scholarship in general. Another great merit of the Soviets, which cannot be over-estimated, is the encouragement given native Caucasians to study their own culture. The Georgians, of course, are the most active folklorists and the works produced by such students of Georgian culture as Nioradze and Makalatija may be compared with the best any country might offer. The centres of research are the Museums of Vladikavkaz, Petrovsk, and Tiflis. But besides these centres, a number of smaller branch institutes for specialized study of local cultures have been founded. Special training is given to future folklorists at the University of Tiflis. Folklore is being encouraged also by frequent museum exhibitions.[71] And in general, the rapid development of museums in the Caucasus is astounding. Since the Revolution they have doubled and trebled their collections. The Georgian Museum in Tiflis will serve as a good example. In 1926 small independent collections were pooled and collectors were sent out to various parts of Georgia. In 1921 the Museum had 12,500 specimens; in 1938 it could boast of 31,000, having more than doubled its collection within 17 years. The collection now includes 274 costumes, 620 amulets, 660 ornaments, 390 pieces of woodwork, 1,850 specimens of arms, 1,800 specimens of pottery, 600 musical instruments, 300 agricultural implements.[72] In recent years Tiflis has become a great centre of well-planned expeditions undertaken by trained fieldworkers. Expeditions to Svanetia were made in 1931, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937; to Khevsuria in 1927; to Pshavia in 1929; to Tushetia in 1932; Mingrelia in 1937; Adzharia in 1933; Meskhetia in 1924; Kakhetia in 1928; Karthlia 1926 and 1936, to mention but some of the expeditions made in Transcaucasia.[73] Another great undertaking of the Soviet ethnographers is the assembling of numerous excellent manuscripts in the archives of the Russian Academy of Science and in other archives throughout the U.S.S.R., among which are the manuscripts of A. Ja. Kupfer, Güldenstädt, Montpéreux and others. Some of these manuscripts have already been published in the series *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR. G. A. Knjazev, Trudy Archiva* ("The Archives of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. General Editor, G. A. Knjazev, The Works of the Archives") and others are still to follow.[74] Some of the more important publications of Georgian folklorists are those of G. Nioradze, B. Bardavelidze, P. Chachadze, C. Makalatija, G. Čubinašvili, G. Čitaja, I. A. Djavachišvili. C 815

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[71] These exhibitions are not restricted to Georgia. See, for example, G. A. Nikitin, "Vystavka 'Kabardino-Balkarija' v Central'nom muzee narodov SSSR." SE, 1937, No. 1, pp. 166 ff.

[72] For the rapid development of North Caucasian museums, see, for example, L. I. Lavrov, "Kraevedčeskie muzei na Severnom Kavkazě," SE, 1936, No. 6, pp. 132 f.

[73] For the development of Georgian museums and folklore see G. S. Čitaja, "Etnografija Gruzii za sovetskij period" ("Georgian ethnography during the Soviet period"), SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 207—213; S. I. Makalatija, "Etnografija i kraevedenie v Gruzii," SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 214 f. For more about expeditions in North and South Caucasus see the various reports in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, e. g., E. Krupnov, "Severo-kavkazskaja ekspedicija gosudarstvennogo istoričeskogo muzeja 1936 g.," 1937, No. 1—2, pp. 119—122.

[74] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR.," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. The *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR.* includes manuscripts dealing with all parts of the U.S.S.R.

Another very important project of the Soviet ethnographers is the publication of valuable books of pre-Soviet times which are no longer available. According to a report in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija* (1936, No. 4—5), the Academy of Science then planned a six volume series containing ethnographical data gathered from M. Kovalevskij's 15 works.[75] The Cherkess Institute has re-edited Dubrovin's work. SU 815

The work being done by the Soviet ethnographers is certainly an encouragement to all interested in ethnology, for the ethnologist is dependent on the ethnographer for his material. On the other hand, we must not imagine that the activity of the Soviet ethnographer cannot be improved upon. To mention some of the shortcomings—many of the expeditions carried out are too brief; the fieldworker, though trained in folklore, often lacks the knowledge of the native tongue; the fieldworkers are too interested in the material culture of the natives, neglecting the social and religious life; Soviet publications must be made more accessible outside the U.S.S.R. (It is especially this point that tends to discourage the non-Soviet ethnologist from studying an otherwise very important field.); complete monographs of the North Caucasian tribes are still non-existent; finally, a large, detailed, exact ethnographical map is still a task of the future.[76]

2. A Bibliography of Bibliographies

After having made a survey of the gradual accumulation of ethnographical data from the earliest times to the present, it may be of advantage to indicate some bibliographies. C 113

(1) A. Charitonov, "Bibliografija. Ukazatel' knig i žurnal'nych statej o Kavkazě geografičeskago statističeskago i etnografičeskago soderžanija za 1852 g." ("A bibliography. An index of books and articles for the year 1852, regarding the geography, statistics and ethnography of the Caucasus"), *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla Imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago Obščestva,* II (1853), pp. 173—187.

(2) Miansarov, *Bibliografia Caucasica et Transcaucasica,* St. Petersburg, 1874—1876. This is an immense bibliography covering all aspects of the Caucasus.

(3) *Pamjatnaja knižka i adres-kalendar Dagestanskoj Oblasti* ("Daghestan Year Book"). The volume for 1895 contains Kozubskij's bibliography of Daghestan.

(4) Th. O. Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev,* Odessa, 1882—1883. Volume I contains some good introductory notes on adat collections (pp. 1—81); Volume II contains a general bibliography (pp. 271—239).

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[75] "Ob izdanii etnografičeskich i soziologičeskich trudov M. M. Kovalevskogo" ("About the Publication of M. M. Kovalevskij's Ethnographical and Sociological Works"), SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 227 f.

[76] The tasks still to be done in Caucasian ethnography and positive suggestions have been proposed by A. N. Genko, "Zadača etnografičeskogo izučenija Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 6—20. ("The Problems of Ethnographical Studies of the Caucasus.")

113 (5) I. Pul'ner, " Itogi i zadači izučenija kavkazskich (gruzinskich i gorskich) evreev " (" Results and Problems of the Study of Georgian and Mountain Jews of the Caucasus "), *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 105—121. This is an excellent bibliography on the Jews of Caucasia.

(6) E. Pčelina, " Ossetica ". (A bibliographical index of literature on Ossetia), *Učenye zapiski Instituta etničeskich i nacional'nych kul'tur Vostoka*, 1930, Tome II, pp. 169—232.

(7) D. H. Egorova, " Bibliografija Vostoka " (" A Bibliography of the East "), Moscow, 1928, 22 pages.

(8) G. Nioradze, " *Begräbnis und Totenkultus bei den Chewsuren*," Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 53—57, for an easily available bibliography on the Khevsurs.

(9) The *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, has an extensive bibliography of bibliographies (pp. 230—267). It covers all bibliographies published in pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary times up to 1936. Very valuable is the large list of 76 Russian periodicals devoted to Caucasology either exclusively or at least frequently carrying articles on the Caucasus (pp. 268—270). Most of these periodicals are no longer published and are extremely rare, nor are they necessarily ethnographic in character. This issue contains a report on the ethnography of Armenia since the Revolution : St. Lisician, " Armjanskaja etnografija za 15 let " (pp. 270—274). On page 274—277 we find E. G. Kagarov's " bibliography of foreign (i. e., non-Russian) ethnographical literature on the Caucasus published in the last 10 years " (" Inostrannaja literatura po etnografii Kavkaza za poslednie 10 let "). This same issue contains a survey of ethnographical and archaeological literature published from 1932 to 1935 : B. E. Degen-Kovalevskij, " Obzor literatury po ethnografii i archeologii Kavkaza za tri goda," pp. 277—303.

(10) J. F. Baddeley, *Index Caucasicus*, a subject index based mainly on pre-Soviet periodicals. The *Index Caucasicus* is still in manuscript form, kept at the London Library (St. James's Sq.). Baddeley has a twelve-page bibliography, in his easily available *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*

(11) For a short but good linguistical bibliography see R. Bleichsteiner, " Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos* XXXI (1937), pp. 61—74.

(12) For a bibliography of works on the physical anthropology of the Caucasus see A. Djawachischwili, " Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), p. 89.

(13) For the best and most recent works on paleoanthropology (regarding peoples of entire U.S.S.R.) see D. F. Debec, *Paleoantropologija SSSR.*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948.

(14) For an excellent bibliography of the prehistory of Caucasia see F. Hančar's *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 10—26.

3. Criticism of Sources

127 [121] In our attempt to describe the North Caucasian marriage and family we shall have recourse especially to the literature of *pre-Soviet* times. And rightly so ! Our aim is not to portray the culture of the very last hour but to get as far back into the history of the North Caucasian family as possible. This can be

done especially by recourse to older sources describing the conditions before 127 the rapid acculturation of recent times. Moreover, to my knowledge, the Soviets have not published much about our present subject, and, as we have mentioned above, monographs about the North Caucasian tribes are practically non-existent,[77] especially on this side of Russia. In the use of pre-Soviet literature we are aware that great caution must be observed. The writers of czaristic times as a general rule were not of the exact and scholarly type of ethnographer modern fieldwork demands. There is a tendency among many pre-Soviet writers to over-emphasize the "savage" primitiveness of the Caucasians. But wholesale condemnation of these sources, as is sometimes done by the amateur Caucasologist, is unjustifiable. A glance at the list of sources used by such great Caucasologists as Nioradze or Pčelina will convince us of the great value pre-Soviet ethnography has for modern Caucasology. As Ladyženskij, one of the best Soviet ethnologists, puts it, "Es sind doch die Arbeiten des Akademikers W. Th. Miller, des Akademikers M. M. Kovalevskij, des korrespondierenden Mitglieds der Akademie der Wissenschaften Dubrovin, Uslars, Bacharadze und vieler andern vorhanden, die in manchen Beziehungen auch heute noch nicht übertroffen sind."[78]

We have derived most of our material from a number of rare periodicals and adat collections.

The periodicals we refer to are the following:

(1) A 10-volume series devoted exclusively to Caucasian ethnography, 114 known as the *Sbornik svědenij o kavkazskich gorcach* ("A Collection of Information about the Mountain Peoples of Caucasus") Tiflis, 1868—1881, to my mind, a very good collection of material.

(2) A series of almost 50 volumes, likewise devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus, is the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza* ("A Collection of Material for Describing the Localities and Tribes of the Caucasus"). The first volume appeared in 1881 and the last issue I have seen was that of 1929 (Volume XLVI). This series contains many purely ethnographical articles and many other valuable contributions regarding the history, languages and archaeology of the Caucasus.

(3) A 9-volume series, *Sbornik svědenij o Kavkazě*, is valuable mainly for its statistics. It was published in Tiflis from 1871 to 1885. ("A Collection of Information about Caucasia.")

(4) The *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla* ("Memoirs of the Caucasian Division of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society"), Tiflis 1862—1917, is an immense series. It is primarily geographic in character and has the Caucasus as its exclusive scope.

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[77] A number of monographs have appeared e. g., Jakovlev's *Inguši*, Požidaev's, *Gorci sěvernago Kavkaza*, Samurskij's *Dagestan*, Baškirov's *Iskustvo Dagestana*, but these works are neither as thorough as we would have them nor do they include all the peoples of North Caucasus. The monographs of Makalatija about the Pshavs (Tiflis, 1934), Tushi (Tiflis, 1933) and the Khevsurs (Tiflis, 1935) have not been at my disposal.

[78] A. Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 243.

(5) Other periodicals, valuable indeed but less important for our present work, are, for example, the *Terskij Sbornik*, *Kavkaz*, and *Caucasica*. The *Sovetskaja Etnografija* will provide much of the more recent ethnographical data for our study.

In regard to the use of adat collections it should be kept in mind that not all collections are of equal value. The task of collecting the customary laws was of special interest to the Russian military government during the czarist régime, but unfortunately some of the collectors were not suitable for the work assigned to them. The collections we shall make most use of are:

(1) *Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv* ("Adats of the South Daghestan Districts").

(2) *Adaty Darginskich Obščestv* ("Adats of the Districts of Dargwa Province").

(3) *Adaty Kumyskoj Ploskosti* ("Adats of the Kumykian Plains").

(4) Leontovič's *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev, Materialy po obyčnomu pravu sěvernago i vostočnago Kavkaza* ("Adats of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus. Data regarding the customary law of Northern and Eastern Caucasus," 2 volumes, Odessa, 1882—1883.) We shall use Leontovič's collection constantly. According to A. Dirr, the *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev* is supposed to be an extremely rare collection. He calls it an "außerhalb Rußlands wohl kaum auffindbare Quelle,"[79] but the fact is that it is found among John F. Baddeley's books and among my own microfilm collection.

We shall now, briefly and in alphabetical order, consider some of our other sources, at least those which we deem need special comment. At the end of this work we shall present a large general bibliography of Caucasia.

(1) Abdul-Hassan's[79a] "Golden Meadows and Jewelmines" has been translated by M. Abicht and published in Klaproth's *Beschreibung der russischen Provinzen zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meere* (Berlin, 1814), pp. 182 to 269. Although Abdul-Hassan falls under the class of Arabs whom we may almost *a priori* suspect of prejudice, this little work (written about A. D. 943) can be of some value for the study of the Caucasus if used with caution.

(2) General Alichanov is supposed to be an authority on the Daghestanians. But we shall have occasion to disagree with him in regard to the status of Avarian women.

(3) Amirov's "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," *Sbornik svědenij o kavkazskich gorcach*, VII (1873), pp. 1—80 will prove very useful for our study because it contains a detailed account of family life in Northern Daghestan and its author is a Dargwa, a native of Daghestan.

(4) Čach Achriev's articles about the Chechens are well-written and sufficiently reliable.

(5) John F. Baddeley's *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus* (London, 1940) is the product of several visits to the Caucasus and of many years of study. He is

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[79] A. Dirr, "Trepanation als gerichtlicher Beweis im Kaukasus," *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, Wien, 1928, p. 218, note.

[79a] Cf. *Supra*, Note 58a.

an excelient critic on literature about the Caucasus and has written perhaps the [1] best history of the Russians in the Caucasus.[80]

(6) Josaphat Barbaro's *Viaggio di Iosaphat Barbaro, ambasciadore di Venetia alla Tana ed in Persia (1436—1471)* is important only in as far as it is one of the first reliable ethnographical works about the Caucasus and vicinity.

(7) A. Baschmakoff's *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la mer Noire* is supposed to be based on the results of the Japhetic School, but we can be quite certain that the members of the School today do not make such sweeping generalizations and assumptions as does the author of this book (published in Paris, 1937). Baschmakoff evidently lost contact with the Marr School. On the whole, the work is fantastic, its conclusions being completely unfounded or at least premature. His explanation of mesocephaly in the Caucasus, however, is quite possible.

(8) Berže's *Čečnja i Čečency* (Tiflis, 1859) has a fine section on family feuds and some useful material on our subject.

(9) R. Bleichsteiner is one of the few scholars on this side of Russia devoting most of his time to Caucasology and is one of the greatest living Caucasologists. He is primarily a linguist.

(10) Joseph Castagné's "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase et des Tscherkesses en particulier" is based on Ladyženskij and differs but slightly from A. Dirr's translation in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*. Castagné makes the capital mistake of identifying Cherkess customs with those of all North Caucasians. Such a generalization is impossible and certainly not intended by Ladyženskij.

(11) G. F. Čursin (d. 1930) was one of the leading Soviet ethnographers. (For obituary and list of works see *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1931, No. 3—4, pp. 189—195.)

(12) Bašir Dalgat is a native Chechen, who, evidently, had a good education, a deep appreciation of Caucasian culture and a fine sense for ethnographical detail. We shall use his "Pervobytnaja Religija Čečencev," later translated from the *Terskij Sbornik* by A. Dirr and printed in the *Anthropos* VIII (1908), pp. 729—740, 1050—1076. We shall indirectly have an occasion to use his unpublished manuscripts, on which Kovalevskij greatly depended.

(13) Adolf Dirr, till his death in 1930, was perhaps the greatest Caucasologist in the world. His periodical *Caucasica* was second to none in matters dealing with the Caucasus. Especially useful for our present study is his "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker." (A list of Dirr's publications can be found in the *Caucasica* VI [1930] No. 2, pp. 4—9.)

(14) Dubois de Montpéreux *Voyage autour du Caucase* is a work of the first half of the last century. It is an immense study of six volumes with two large atlases (maps and architectural and archaeological diagrams), presenting the results of an expedition. Te *Voyage autour du Caucase* won the first prize offered by the Geographic Society of Paris in 1838.

(15) N. Dubrovin's *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkazě* ("History of the War and Domination of the Russians in the Caucasus") is a six-

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[80] *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus*, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, 1908.

[1] [Sic--Analyst]

114 volume work of which the first volume is a purely ethnographic. It is especially this first volume that will prove of much value for our present study, for it contains a treasure of useful information culled from sources that either no longer exist today or at least are not at our disposal. Unfortunately Dubrovin refers to his sources only in a more or less general way, leaving us in the dark as to the exact authority on which he bases the particular assertion. Nor does he care much about whether the custom described belongs to the past or present. In spite of these shortcomings,[81] Dubrovin's *Istorija* remains a useful source book of lasting value.

(16) Djavachišvili is a native Georgian, professor at the University of Tiflis, whose compilation of anthropological data of the Caucasus up to 1925 is perhaps the best available.

(17) Tamby Elechoty is a native Ossete, specialist on customary law of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, from whom J. Castagné received some information for his article.

(18) Ellis does not enjoy much authority in spite of being one of the earlier writers about the Caucasus. His work is not the product of fieldwork but only of the study of such authors as Reineggs and Güldenstädt.

(19) Erckert may not be remembered as a linguist, except perhaps for his mistakes, but his value lies not in his linguistic attempts but rather in his ethnographical contribution, *Der Kaukasus*. Erckert had a high position in the czar's army and spent two years in the Caucasus.

(20) Eristov is not free from contradictions but he does offer good material not found elsewhere.

(21) Essad-Bey's works are of a popular nature, remarkable for their clear and charming presentation of the genuinely Caucasian spirit. He also goes by the name of Noussimbaum.

(22) Said Gabiev offers us some valuable material about the Laks in his "Laki. Ich prošloe i byt" ("The Laks. Their Past and Form of Life.")

(23) Grabovskij has written two articles which we find useful for our present study, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingušev-skago Okruga" ("The Economic and Domestic Life in the Ingush Province") and his "Inguši." Baddely accuses Grabovskij of "gross contradiction"[82] but quite unfairly. We are inclined to agree rather with Dirr that Grabovskij's articles are "ausgezeichnet."[83]

(24) Güldenstädt is the pioneer explorer of the Caucasus.

(25) C. Hahn has written a large number of articles and books about the Caucasus. They are all the products of fieldwork. Nevertheless they must be used with caution, since sometimes the author's visits were too brief for a strictly scientific expedition.

(26) Haxthausen's works contain some valuable information, but he too is not an ideally gifted observer.

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[81] For a lengthy criticism of Dubrovin's work see SSKG., VI (1872).

[82] J. F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, 88.

[83] A. Dirr, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, XLI (1925), p. 8.

(27) J. Karst has done the laudable service of translating and writing a commentary to King Vakhtang's Code.

(28) Jakovlev's is a popular work with a scientific value. He presents the life of the Ingushi as found in recent (1925) times.

(29) Juynboll's *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes* published over 40 years ago is still recognized as the best exposition of Islamic law according to the Shâfi'itic School.

(30) Klaproth is famous for his wholesale plagiarisms. Nevertheless we must admit that he at least had a good judgement and "borrowed" only the best.[84]

(31) Kokiev is a native Ossete, a Digorian.

(32) M. Kovalevskij has produced the finest works on Caucasian law up to the present day. He was a trained jurist and explored the Caucasus himself, carefully studied the adats of the natives and had access to valuable manuscripts and government archives. His works, especially *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě* ("Law and Custom in the Caucasus"), published in 1890, and his *Sovremennij Obyčaj i Drevnij Zakon*, published in 1886 and later translated into French under the title of *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne* (Paris, 1893), contain an immense amount of material. Although we must reject Kovalevskij's evolutionism and not a few other conclusions, we will have constant recourse to the invaluable data gathered by him. According to a report in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija* (1936, No. 4—5, pp. 227 f.), the Russian Academy of Science plans to publish Kovalevskij's ethnographical and sociological data in a special six-volume work. This interest of the Soviet ethnographers of today clearly proves that Kovalevskij's works have a lasting value, although written half a century ago.

(33) P. I. Kovalevskij must be distinguished from M. M. Kovalevskij. P. I. Kovalevskij offers us a good conspectus of the peoples and tribes of Caucasia in his *Kavkaz, Narody* Kavkaza. (St. Petersburg, 1914. "The Caucasus. The Nations of the Caucasus.") He has lived in the Caucasus and describes the peoples with whom he was personally in contact. Unfortunately the number of nations he wishes to portray is so large that his work is necessarily too sketchy and can hardly offer the reader anything new.

(34) Ladyženskij is one of the best authorities on customary law. A number of his articles have been translated into German. The most useful article for the present work is, of course, "Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen," translated from the Russian by A. Dirr.[85] Ladyženskij presents the results of an expedition in 1927, and generally his interpretations are very good. His studies contain excellent material, which we shall amply make use of in the present work.

(35) Laudaev is a native Chechen, the first to write about his own people in Russian.[86]

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[84] See Baddeley's repeated criticism of Klaproth, *op. cit.*

[85] *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLV (1930), pp. 178—208.

[86] "Iz Čečencev ja pervy pišu na russkom jazykě o moej rodině, ešče tak malo izvěstnoj" ("I am the first Chechen to write about my people, who are still so little known"), SSKG., VI (1872), p. 1, *note*.

114 (36) Marr and the Marr School are responsible more than anyone else for the great interest in Caucasology, which we find today. Professor Marr, a Scotch-Georgian by birth, was, no doubt, a great genius,[87] although at times his enthusiasm led him to over-hasty conclusions. Today his school plays the leading rôle in Russian archaeology. The linguists tend to part more and more from their Master's opinions, but, we must remember, the direction of this departure was given by Marr himself, toward the end of his life.

(37) Halil Beg Mussayassul is a native Daghestanian, son of a *nā'ib*. His *Das Land der letzten Ritter* (Munich, 1936) is a popular book, intended more to entertain the ordinary reader than to inform the scientist ; nevertheless it is a useful work, faithfully describing the life of the Daghestanian noble class in pre-Soviet times.

(38) Fr. Nansen's *Through the Caucasus to the Volga* is a popular work, based on a few more or less reliable authors and on a trip through the Caucasus. It has very little scientific value.

(39) Nioradze is the leading Georgian ethnologist.

(40) Omarov is a native of Kazikumukh Province.

(41) Pallas's works are products of expeditions, dating back to the 18th century.

(42) Pčelina has, to my mind, produced some of the best Soviet ethnography. He is an exact fieldworker (expedition of 1934—1936) and doubtless masters the literature on the Caucasians. His articles are outstanding for their exactness and critical presentation.[88]

(43) Pfaff was the first Russian interested in the Ossetine customs. Though he made many serious mistakes (as, for example, to consider the Ossetes a mixture of Aryan and Semitic stock, or again, his numberless mistakes in philology), nevertheless, his purely ethnographical contributions are good. In fact he preserved much Ossetine lore which would have otherwise perished.

(44) A. H. Post is cited in the present study merely as a secondary source with a confirmartory value. We reject his evolutionism.

(45) Požidaev, lecturer at the North Caucasian Pedagogical Institute of Vladikavkaz, is the author of *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza* ("Mountain Peoples of Northern Caucasus"). The ethnographical data he has to offer is reliable and based on practical fieldwork.

(46) Reinegg's *Reise* is more than a mere work of travel ; we might almost call it an expedition. Much of Klaproth's plagiarism goes back to his high appreciation of this well-written work.

(47) Seidlitz was the head of the statistical department during the czarist régime. His acquaintance with the conditions in the Caucasus was good and his articles are generally reliable.

(48) Vakhtang VI's Code is a collection of Georgian laws edited in the eighteenth century but based on ancient Georgian customary law.

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[87] Cf. "Pamjati učenogo-revoljucionera Nikolaja Jakovleviča, Marra," SE, 1935, No. 1, pp. 3—7. I. I. Meščaninov, "Nikolaj Jakovlevič Marr," SE, 1935, No. 1, pp. 8—17.

[88] Cf. "Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 85—103 ; "Obrjad gostepriimstva v osetii," SE, 1932, No. 5—6, pp. 140—163 ; *Ossetica*, a bibliography.

II. MARRIAGE

Chapter II

Prohibited Mating

We shall begin our study of the North Caucasian marriage with a negative, 600 but a very important, question : Which persons may *not* be mates ? The next chapter will tell us which persons are not only not excluded from mating, but are regarded as *preferred*, or even *obligatory*, mates.

§ 1. THE RULE OF MONOGAMY

1. Extent and Frequency of Polygamy in the Caucasus

As a general rule the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS content themselves 595 with one wife,[1] although both the *Abkhaz* and the *Cherkess* consider polygyny just as lawful as monogyny. After the Soviet government had prohibited plural marriages, polygyny indeed became extremely rare (today it is found only by way of exception here and there among old "incorrigible" Kabardians), but the people still maintain that as long as a man can afford two wives and can feed and clothe them properly, he is just as much in the right as the monogamist,[2] the Soviet penal law notwithstanding.

According to a report of John de Lucca, a Dominican missionary, *(Relations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, Mingréliens et Géorgiens)* the seventeenth century Circassians recognized polygyny as a lawful institution ; however, they seldom made use of the right.[3] In a report from 1502 *(Della Vita dei Zychi, altrimenti chiamati Circassi)*, Interiano mentions that the natives heartily approved of plurality of wives.[4] Our sources, therefore, tell us that polygyny has been in practice in Northwest Caucasia for more than 450 years, always, indeed, more as an exception than as a rule.

The practice certainly does not owe its existence to Mohammedan missionaries. 595 The Cherkess conversion was very superficial till the Murid wars, 147 when a common hatred against the Russians united them under the Moslem

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[1] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkazě*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 138. A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, (Paris, 1936), p. 154.

[2] A. Ladyženskij, "Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLV (1930), pp. 191, 195.

[3] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, *p. 184.*

[4] R. Erckert, "*Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*," p. 67.

595 797 banner of Ghâzi-Mullah and Shamyl.[5] Before that time they were only "indifferent disciples of Mohammed," as a report from the first half of the nineteenth century has it,[6] or "without any religion," as Güldenstädt pictured the situation in the 18th century.[7] In other words, the conversion of the Cherkess to Islamism was relatively recent, while polygyny is an old institution. It is beyond the least shadow of doubt that the Cherkess were not Mohammedans when Interiano visited them in 1502. Polygyny of the Cherkess certainly antedates the introduction of the *šarʿia* (Islamic law) into Northwest Caucasia.

Passing over to the NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS, we find polygyny a recognized institution among them also. There can be no doubt about the practice existing among the *Chechens*;[8] in fact one of the Chechen tribes (Ingushi) seemed to make use of the right rather frequently. Grabovskij claimed that plurality of wives was of "very frequent" occurrence and that "many" Ingushi had two wives and occasionally three. Moreover, he goes so far as to say that this practice was not limited to the privileged families (as was the case with the Northwestern Caucasians), but that it was rather common to see a "pauper" with two wives.[9] Count Potocki had claimed, about a hundred years earlier, that some Ingushi had as many as five wives.[10]

Although the Chechens are Mohammedans, polygyny antedates their conversion to Islamism. According to Bašir Dalgat, a Chechen by birth, Islamism dates from the time when Chechen migrated to Ichkeria (16th century A. D.) and to the highlands (17th and 18th century). It was then that they lost contact with the Christian Georgians and fell into completely Islamic surroundings (the Daghestanians, Kumyks and Kabardians). Gradually the Chechens went over to Mohammedanism. One of the Chechen tribes, the Ingushi, living near the Georgian Military Road, the only agreeable road from Christian Georgia to Christian Russia, remained unsympathetic toward the new religion. As a counteraction against Islamic proselytism, Russian missionaries in the first half of the eighteenth century began a Christian revival among the Ingushi, resulting in a bitter struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity. Finally in 1862 the Christian Cross had to give way to the ever-expanding Crescent.[11]

Almost a hundred years before the final submission of the Ingushi to Islamic law, Güldenstädt observed that they "marry several women, just as the Mohammedans do, but unlike the latter, they eat pork." Hence, though not yet fully Islamized, the Ingushi practiced polygamy.[12]

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[5] G. Zawadowski, "Les Musilmans du Caucase," *En Terre d'Islam*, XVIII (1943), No. 23, p. 162 f.

[6] J. A. Longworth, *A Year among the Cherkess*, I, p. 239.

[7] *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 135. "Das Volk lebt ohne Religion" is not to be understood literally.

[8] G. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 87.

[9] N. Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[10] Count J. Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[11] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetschenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), pp. 730 f. For the Islamization of the Chechens, see Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 87. Pošidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 18.

[12] Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 151.

The *Lesghians*, who are geographically and linguistically related to the 595 Chechens, likewise countenance polygamous marriages, but, here polygyny is [101] a privilege that has always been reserved for a few. It is to be noted that these privileged personages seldom espouse more than two women.[13]

The largest and the most important people of the Lesghian group are the Avars. Speaking of these people, L'vov tells us expressly that only relatively few men can boast of two or at most three wives.[14]

The Lesghians were the first to be Islamized and their conversion was the most thorough. The Laks, for example, accepted the Koran as early as the 797 116th year of the hegira A. D. 777. By the end of the ninth century Mohammedanism was firmly rooted among the Daghestanian mountaineers.[15]

Hence, to discover the pre-Islamic condition of the Lesghians, we must go to the early Persian and Arabian writers. They inform us that when Islamism was introduced into Daghestan, the people were all followers of Zoroastrianism. These reports are confirmed by the fact that today there are still not a few traces of Avestic teaching in the Caucasus and in Daghestan in particular.[16] Attempts to Christianize the Daghestanians had been made at first by Armenian, Georgian, and Byzantine missionaries, then, in the thirteenth century by the Roman Catholic Church.[17] But in spite of all Christian missionary activity, pre-Islamic Daghestan must be classified as Avestic.

Polygyny is in full accord with Zoroastrianism, no less than with Mohammedanism, 595 and therefore there is no reason why we should place plural marriages in the Mohammedan period and exclude them from Avestic times. Ahura Mazda Himself is supposed to have had a number of wives, and Zoroaster, his Prophet, according to tradition, had three. In fact, Avesta (Vend. iii. 3) actually encourages polygyny by teaching that in the household of the just, " both women and children abound " (Geiger, *Ostiranische*, pp. 244, 247). Polygyny was ex-

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[13] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 166.

[14] N. L'vov, " Domašnaja i semejnaja žizn dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] For the Islamization of Daghestan see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 152—156; for the conversion of the Laks see Said Gabiev, " Laki, ich prošloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), p. 14.

[16] Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî writes about the Lesghians: " They have no religion, and pay no [764] taxes. If a man dies they hand him over to men in houses under the earth, who cut up the members of the deceased, remove the flesh entirely from the bones, collect it together on one side, and give it to ravens to devour; they stand near with bows to keep off other birds from eating any of the flesh. If a woman dies they hand her over to other men (*var.* women) under the earth, who remove her bones, and give her flesh to vultures, while they stand by with knives to hinder other birds from approaching the flesh." Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî is here referring to the Kubachi, a Dargwa-speaking people. J. Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 290. Of the Colchi Aelian writes in his *Historical Miscellanies*, iv. 1 (c. A. D. 200), " The Colkhi place their dead into skins and sew them up and then hang them up in trees." Both of these practices are traces of Zoroastrianism. " To bury a body," according to Sir Denison Ross, " would defile the pure earth, which is one of the gifts of Ahuramazda, and to burn it would defile his symbol, the Sacred Fire. Bodies are therefore exposed on towers (*dkhma*) specially constructed for the purpose, to be devoured by birds of prey." (Cited by Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, Anthropological Series Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, December 15, 1939.)

[17] J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 39.

595 pressly recognized as lawful as early as the composition of the Mâṭigân-î-Ḥazâr Daṭistân.[17*]

[101] On the southern slopes of the Caucasus, in high isolated valleys, we find the GEORGIAN mountain tribes, the Khevsurs, Tushi, Pshavs and Svans, who, owing to their isolation, have preserved the ancient Georgian culture better by far than their brothers in the lowlands, and therefore, when speaking of the Georgians, we shall limit ourselves as much as possible to these four tribes.[17**]

Formerly plural marriages were of frequent occurrence in *Khevsuria.* "In former times," writes Nansen, "polygyny was general," or in the words of the original, "war früher an der Tagesordnung."[18] By "formerly" we mean before the conversion of the Khevsurs to the Orthodox Church.[19] But a deeply ingrained customary law cannot be easily "repealed" and such is the case in Khevsuria in regard to the right of having more than one wife; for, even today, although rarely, some Khevsurs still insist on marrying several women.[20] The *Svans* are "monogamists" but, like the Khevsurs, they gave [586] up plural marriages only after their conversion to Christianity. They are monogamists officially and economically, but, like the Khevsurs, they are sexually polygamous: in order to evade the law of the Church, the Khevsurs and the Svans introduced extremely easy divorce, a form of *successive* polygamy. Divorce is so frequent and easy (almost an annual affair) that we hesitate to call it monogamy.[21] G. Radde, in his monograph on the Khevsurs, claimed that many had been divorced and remarried ten times before they were 35 years of age.[22]

And now if we pass on to the non-Caucasian neighbours of the North Caucasian tribes, we find that the Mohammedan as well as the Christian OSSETES countenance polygyny, but as elsewhere it is rare, as rare as wealth.[23] [565] As a rule, only the two highest classes, the princes and the *aldars* could afford more than one wife. In fact, there are even special *adats* which seem to reserve the privilege for these classes.[24]

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus have had a great share in the moulding of modern Caucasian culture and consequently demand our consideration.

Vambéry in his *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes* (pp. 71 f) assures us that not even the slightest traces of polygyny can be found among the primitive Turco-Tartars. In fact their language lacks such terms as "secondary wife," "bastard," an d "prostitution."[25]

[17*] *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, p. 745.

[17**] The Svans are "Georgians" only in a broad sense of the word, meaning "South Caucasians."

[18] F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 58; *Durch den Kaukasus zur Wolga*, p. 39.

[19] G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

[20] C. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82; A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 114. R. Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[21] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282. N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. II, p. 109.

[22] Radde, *op cit.*, p. 113. Cf. R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 269 ff.

[23] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[24] Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, a 40.

[25] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 204.

d [Sic--Analyst]

According to a missionary's report dating from the year 1750, the League Tartars round the city of Derbend " drink wine without reserve and marry only one woman," and, in spite of being Mohammedans, lead such unorthodox lives, that the Persians can hardly recognize anything Mohammedan about them.[26] But such was not the case with all the Tartars in the Caucasus.[27] The Karachai,[28] Kumyks[29] and Nogai[30] are polygynists, though they seldom avail themselves of their legal privilege.

2. Problems regarding Polygamy

Before we go over to the problems and possible solutions regarding polygamous marriages in North Caucasia, a glance at the following table will help us recall the various customary laws of the North Caucasian peoples and how they differ from those of their neighbours. We have said nothing about polyandry because nowhere in the Caucasus is it a recognized institution.

TABLE 5

Polygamy in Caucasia

PEOPLES		Adats Permit		Polygyny is Pre-Islamic	Enjoyed by Rich Alone	Usually Restricted to Bigyny
		Polyandry	Polygyny			
North-Western	Abkhaz	—	+	+	+	+
	Cherkess	—	+	+	+	+
North-Eastern	Chechens	—	+	+	—	+
	Lezghians	—	+	+	+	+
Southerners	Khevsurs	—	+		—	+
	Pshavs	—	+			+
	Tushi	—	+			+
	Svans	—	+			+
OSSETES		—	+	+	+	+
Turco-Tartars	Derbend	—	?			
	Kumyks	—	+		+	+
	Nogai	—	+		+	+
	Karachai	—	+		+	+

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[26] J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea : with a journal of travels through Russia*, London, 1753, I, p. 374.

[27] *ibid.*

[28] Gróf Zichy Jenő, *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, Part I : Dr. Jankó János, *Néprajzi gyűjtemény leírása*, Budapest, 1897, p. 44.

[29] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, " Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 31.

[30] Jankó, *l. c.*

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it ist not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the North Caucasian family itself. [594] [614] Here we understand " family " in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by " the economic, social, and religious structure of the family " we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and prosperity of the family. [581] Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 562 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the " *worker-producing* " organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more " worker-producing " organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the " *boy-producing* " organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Mačavariani, " Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

We may go a step further and say that if it is the wife who secures the 595
family economically and religiously, the family will be respected by others in 554
proportion to the number of mothers it has. In a word, the *social* status of the family depends on the economic and religious status, and these in turn depend very much on the number of wives. Doubtless, investment in wives is the best investment of any North Caucasian family.

Polygyny being part and parcel of the family organization of the North Caucasian peoples, we must, therefore, in seeking the origin of the institution, go back beyond Islamic times, beyond Christian and Avestic times, and perhaps beyond historical times. North Caucasian polygyny was born when the North Caucasian family organization was born.

A corollary to the question regarding the origin of polygyny in North 581
Caucasia is the enquiry into the motives for polygynous unions. The sexual factor has relatively little significance. Not lust, not desire to have a young wife, not a surplus of women, but craving for a large family, for many labourers, for economic and religious prepetuation of the family, for the rise in social prestige—these are the motives that generally induce a man to marry a second wife.

(3) A glance at Table 5 under the columns " Usually restricted to bigyny " and " Enjoyed by rich alone " will reveal that plural marriages among the North Caucasian peoples and their neighbours are usually cases of *bigamy* and that polygyny is more the exception than the rule. This state of affairs would seem to contradict what we have just said about the importance of polygyny. Why is this all-important institution practiced only by a *few* and generally *limited* to one and at the most two additional wives? Why this difference in theory and practice? This fact is all the more striking because all our North Caucasian 795
peoples are Mohammedans and according to the Koran, iv. 3 and Islamic tradition everyone is entitled to have up to four wives.

The first reason, and no doubt, the most important one is that Nature 162
herself prevents universal polygyny. The relative number of males and females 595
is dictated by a biological law, the sex ratio rarely exceeding 100:110 in favour of either sex.[33] Usually the ratio is 106 males to 100 females, but, we must remember, child mortality is far greater among boys than girls, so that in the long run the ratio of marriageable persons is about 100:100.[34] Nowhere in the world does it approximate a 1:2 ratio, which would be necessary to make bigyny a general practice.[35]

Theoretically speaking, a surplus of women could result in the Caucasus from blood-feuds, dangerous occupations, infanticide, and other major disturbances affecting the *male* population alone. Such a preponderance of female sex would necessitate many of them remaining unmarried or several women would be obliged to marry one man. But are there such major disturbances affecting the sex ratio in the Caucasus? Since the Soviet government prohibits polygyny and in recent decades polygyny has become extremely rare, it would seem much

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[33] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, (New York, 1947), p. 243.

[34] Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 100.

[35] R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 113.

162 more methodologically correct to study the relation of sex ratio to polygyny in
595 *pre-Soviet* times. The Russian Imperial Geographic Society published the following statistics for the year 1897 in the *Isvěstija Kavkazskago Otděla* (XII [1898], pp. 27 f). These statistics are sufficiently reliable, and even if they disagree with other statistics of this period, the discrepencies do not affect our essential argument: the sex ratio is a serious hindrance to the practice of polygyny.[38]

TABLE 6
Population of Caucasia in 1897
A. North Caucasus

GOVERNMENT	PROVINCE (County)	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Kuban		976,900	945,873	1,922,773
	Ekaterinodar	124,789	119,138	243,927
	Batalpashinsk	110,824	107,401	218,225
	Yeysk	139,923	136,713	276,636
	Maikop	145,138	139,030	284,168
	Kavkaz	126,565	122,736	249,301
	Labinsk	155,615	152,222	307,837
	Teminsk	174,046	168,633	342,679
Terek		487,489	445,996	933,485
	Vladikavkaz	73,461	64,372	137,833
	Grozny	119,615	108,033	227,648
	Kizlyar	51,715	48,035	99,750
	Nalchik	53,202	49,721	102,223
	Pyatigorsk	93,403	96,801	180,204
	Tsundzhensk	59,122	56,775	115,897
	Khasan-Yurt	36,971	32,259	69,230
Stavropol		446,963	429,335	876,298
	Stavropol	84,473	81,732	166,205
	Alexandropol	91,758	89,146	180,904
	Medveyzhensk	117,761	115,999	233,760
	Novogrigoryevsk	126,583	121,861	248,444
	Others	26,388	20,597	46,985

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[38] Besides the statistics of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society of 1897 which we quote below, there are also the following collections of statistics for this period: *Pamjatnaja knižka* (1895), pp. 165—405, which contains very detail statistics of Daghestan indicating the number of households, male and female population of each village; SSKG, V (1870), pp. 51—58, VI (1872), appendix pp. 1—65, VIII (1875), pp. 1—17 (Sostav naselenija Dagestanskoj Oblasti), IX (1876), pp. 20—29 for Andi Province, pp. 4—19 for Western Daghestan, pp. 52 ff for Sakataly; *Sbornik svědenij o Kavkazě*, nine large quarto volumes edited by a special statistical committee under the capable leadership of Seidlitz, especially useful are volumes V (1879) and VIII (1885); *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla Imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago Običestva*, V (1862), pp. 135—151 for general statistics, VIII (1873), pp. 1—49 for Daghestan, XVIII (1896); *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), pp. 98—102.

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GOVERN-MENT	PROVINCE (County)	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Daghestan		300,155	286,481	586,636
	Temir-Khan-Shura	51,127	42,716	93,846
	Avar Province	18,732	18,498	37.230
	Andi	23,546	23,447	46,993
	Gunib	28,641	29,953	58,594
	Dargwa	40,514	41,949	82,463
	Lak (Kazikumukh)	26,368	27,297	53,665
	Kaitago-Tabassaran	47,547	42,159	89,706
	Kurin	39,308	37,241	76,549
	Samur	24,372	23,221	47,593

B. South Caucasus

GOVERN-MENT	PROVINCE (County)	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Tiflis		526,349	432,826	958,775
	Tiflis	133,459	94,321	227,780
	Akhalkalak	38,754	34,608	73,362
	Akhaltsikh	37,479	31,665	69,144
	Borchalinsk	104,183	87,473	191,656
	Dushet	37,667	32,258	69,925
	Telav	34,633	30,516	65,149
	Tioneti	18,894	17,944	36,438
	Signakh	53,950	46,147	100,097
Kutais		567,353	508,468	1,075,861
	Kutais	115,395	107,932	223,327
	Artvinsk	29,575	26,881	56,456
	Batum	50,832	34,744	85,576
	Zugdidi	60,577	57,046	117,623
	Lekhgumsk	25,987	24,530	50,517
	Ozurgeti	47,018	45,194	92,212
	Rachinsk	37,728	35,014	72,742
	Tsenaksk	61,558	57,626	119,184
	Sharopansk	83,558	74,168	157,726
	Sukhum	55,165	45,333	100,498
Baku		437,779	351,880	789,659
	Baku	104,420	73,186	177,606
	Gerkchaysk	50,507	50,156	109,663
	Dzhevatsk	48,789	36,267	85,065
	Kuba	61,732	50,469	112,200
	Shemakha	66,547	57,063	123,610

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GOVERNMENT	PROVINCE (County)	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Elizabethpol		479,433	392,124	871,557
	Elizabethpol	90,053	72,125	162,178
	Aresh	33,938	28,979	62,917
	Dzhevanshirsk	37,602	29,403	67,005
	Dzhebraysk	37,001	30,122	67,123
	Tsangezursk	77,074	64,990	142,064
	Kazakh	64,117	48,351	112,468
	Nukhinsk	63,129	53,933	117,062
	Shusha	76,519	64,221	140,740
Erivan		429,689	375,068	804,757
	Erivan	69,588	57,484	127,072
	Alexandropol	88,443	74,992	163,435
	Nakhichevan	53,466	47,476	100.942
	Novobayazetsk	64,225	59,614	123,839
	Surmaly	47,391	41,453	88,844
	Sharup-Daralagezsk	40,968	35,014	75,982
	Echmiadzin	65,608	59,035	124,643
Chernomorsk		31,760	22,468	54,228
	Novopossiysk	19,810	13,945	33,955
	Tuapsinsk	4,346	3,674	8,020
	Sochinsk	7,604	5,549	13,253
Kars		162,723	129,775	292,498
	Kars	76,845	58,539	135,384
	Ardagan	34,933	30,734	65,667
	Kagyzmansk	33,838	25,888	59,726
	Olti	17,107	14,614	31,721

C. Total

Total in NORTH CAUCASUS	2,211,507	2,107,685	4,319,192
Total in SOUTH CAUCASUS	2,674,547	2,249,956	4,929,503
ENTIRE CAUCASUS	4,891,054	4,357,641	9,248,695

A closer examination of these statistics will show that in Northwest Caucasus the female population is *smaller* than the male. However the disproportion is not considerable, varying between 100:102 to 100:104.7. In other words, towards the close of the last century there was, according to our statistics, not only no surplus of women but not enough for every man to have *one* wife.

This deficiency of female mates is certainly one of the main reasons for the infrequency of polygyny despite the great value placed on the institution. 162

The statistics given for Chechnia reveal a similar situation. And, according 595 to Vertepov, the disproportion was especially great in Ingushetia, 115 men to every 100 women.[37] This is indeed striking because Grabovskij claimed, as we have seen, that plural marriages were " very frequent " in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[38] " Many " Ingushi had two wives and sometimes three.[39] Even " poor " Ingushi had additional wives.[40] The frequent cases of polygyny [587] in Ingushetia in spite of the unusual surplus of men can perhaps be explained by the strict obligation of the widow to marry her deceased husband's brother. According to Kovalevskij, the levirate among the Chechens was, practically speaking, an obligation, whereas among the Lesghians it was facultative (*infra*, pp. 71 f). Levirate would also explain why even " poor " Ingushi were polygynists ; it would also explain why " many " Ingushi had more than one wife.

The sex ratio of the Lesghians, as presented in our statistics, differs somewhat from that of the rest of the Caucasians. Here, in Daghestan, we do have districts with a preponderance of female sex, but it must be noted, the difference is so small that the surplus women could hardly make polygyny a frequent practice. Thus the Avar, Andi, Gunib, Dargwa, Kazikumuk, Kurin and Samur provinces all have practically a 100:100 ratio. The Kaitago-Tabassaran Province has the highest proportion in favour of women, but the difference 100:105 is insignificant. Hence, the balance between the male and female population is a contributing factor to the infrequency of polygyny.[41]

But besides this biological reason there is the universally valid economic 595 reason. Supposing that there were a surplus of women in the Caucasus, there 583 would still be great financial difficulties that would prevent polygyny from becoming general. The poor Caucasian considers himself quite fortunate if he manages to gather enough jingling rubles or mooing cows to purchase one wife, let alone a second or a third.[42] In fact, even the rich Caucasian would find it difficult to purchase a second wife, because the bride price always corresponds to the economic and social position of the contracting parties. Ladyženskij expressly maintains that what keeps the Kabardian and the Cherkess in general

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[37] G. Vertepov, " Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 99.

[38] Grabovskij, " Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21. Dubrovin is of the same opinion : *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 430.

[39] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[40] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[41] In 1926 the sex ratio for Daghestan was practically a perfect balance, 100:103 in favor of the female sex (383,000 males to 405,000 females). F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 96.
According to official statistics of 1930 there were more men than women living in the *cities* of Daghestan (1,000 men to 931 women) ; in the country the proportion was 1,000 men to 1,048 women. R. Kherumian, " Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.
It seems to be quite natural that the city population should show a preponderance of male sex : a considerable portion of the city population are labourers and merchants from various parts of Caucasia, Russia, and Armenia.

[42] A. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 195.

595 from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the
583 Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well : the
economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare.
Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the
richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the
[587] right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's
report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained
by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for
[565] the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth
and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia
(*infra*, pp. 60 f) ; therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at
all, it must be found also among the " poor " class.

[586] Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

§ 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

000 Lowie defines exogamy as " the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule " which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

582 Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTH-
[614] WEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the
reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of
Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same
sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

671 Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ing-
582 ushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, " Domałnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, " Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10 ; p. 14, § 27 ; p. 16, § 40.

[48] " Ekonomičeskij i domałnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9 ; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

blood-relatives, and although the Ingushi are now Mohammedans they still insist 582 on observing their ancient customary laws rather than the *šarīʿa*.[52] The other [671] Chechen tribes are likewise strict exogamists.[53]

The Lesghians however, unlike all other North Caucasians, are, or at least [614] have been till recently, strict endogamists. In their insistance on marriages exclusively within the sib. the Lesghians differ not only from the other North Caucasians but also from the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASIA: the Khevsurs,[54] the Pshavs,[55] the Tushi,[56] and the Svans.[57]

In this regard the Lesghians differ also from their non-Caucasian neighbours. [622] Among the OSSETES even the remotest blood-relationship (usually all living in the same village and bearing the same family name)[58] impedes marriage.[59]

The neighbouring TARTAR tribes are also exogamous.[60] The KALMUCKS may indeed marry within their community but only with non-relatives.[61]

To come back to the Lesghians—the reliability of the reports about their still being strictly endogamous in the nineteenth century is unquestionable. Klaproth, despite his many literary thefts, is generally reliable. He assures us that the Dido "disregard all degrees of consanguinity."[62] L'vov[63] and Abercromby[64] observed the same custom among the Avars. The latter author writes, "With regard to degrees of consanguinity, an Avar is permitted to marry his first cousin or two sisters." Our most reliable sources are Kovalevskij and Egiasarov, on whom Kovalevskij largely depends.[65] In Kovalevskij's *Zakon* 582 *i obyčaj na Kavkazě* we read that Cvětkov, a government official in Daghestan 614 in 1869, maintained that in the Kurin Province absolutely no marriage was possible outside of one's own *tukhum* (sib). Sotnikov claims that such is the case

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[52] N. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, (Moscow, 1925), p. 49.

[53] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 196.

[54] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus. Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 267.

[55] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě*, II, p. 142.

[56] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 196.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] When a family breaks from its sib and moves into a strange village, it gradually begins to feel closely related to its new neighbours, sometimes even more closely than to actual blood-relatives who live farther away. Such a family may even change its name and begin to call itself after the sib in whose community it now lives. The tendency of local solidarity to supplant the solidarity of the sib is noticeable throughout the Caucasus. Cf. A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den Bergvölkern des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 436, 439, 444. How soon such families would become "blood-relatives" to such a degree that intermarriage would be considered incestuous has still to be investigated by the fieldworkers.

[59] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 196, 335.

[60] M. Kovalevskij, l. c.

[61] R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 37.

[62] *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.

[63] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev Avarskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 18.

[64] *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 97. Unfortunately Abercromby fails to specify whether they were only *permitted* to marry blood-relatives or actually obliged to do so.

[65] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 142; *Coutume contemp.*, l. c. Egiasarov's article is not at my disposal, hence I am relying on Kovalevskij's faithful citation of the author.

582 in Kaitag, and of the Tabassaranians he is able to say: "Up to the present
614 there have been no instances of anyone freely separating himself from his
tukhum. The people are convinced that such an action would be impossible,
unthinkable, certainly the most abominable disgrace imagineable." In the Province of Dargwa (according to Popov) the *tukhum* does not even have the authority to expel an illegitimate member, much less permit a fully-fledged member to separate from the others freely. Of all the provinces in South Daghestan only the adats of Tsakhur admit marriages with outsiders, but only
611 by way of exception. Thus, according to Akhtinian and Rutulian customary law, a sib may marry one of their girls to a groom belonging to another *tukhum,* but only if the groom's sib is in danger of extinction.[66] But even in this extreme case an important *conditio sine qua non* is added: the children born of this marriage must be named not after the father's, but, strangely enough, after the mother's sib.[67]

621 In most cases local exogamy will coincide with consanguineous exogamy, because generally the Caucasian *auls* are sib-villages, that is, inhabited by people with the same family name who consider themselves related to one another. The questions of local exogamy and cross-cousin marriages have still to be investigated by the fieldworker.

Endogamy is not a sign of primitiveness. On the contrary, it thrives where social ranks are of paramount importance.[68] But the Lesghians, as we shall soon learn (*infra*, pp. 61 ff), are virtually classless and therefore endogamy seems out of place. We cannot attribute the practice to Islamism; for Mohammedanism may indeed *permit* consanguineous mating but it does not *prescribe* it. We may therefore rightly expect to find the solution to the riddle in pre-Islamic times.

We have said that the Southern Caucasians are strict exogamists. That is true, but there has been a time when the Georgians, the neighbours of the Lesghian peoples, were endogamists.

In the Georgian chronicles of King Vakhtang, which speak of the times of Nabuchodonosor, we read (after Brosset, *Additions*, p. 31), "Les plus abominable coutumes s'introduisirent, dans les mariages, on n'avait aucun égard à la parenté, on mangeait tout ce qui a vie, on n'ensevelissait point les morts et l'on dévorait les cadavres!"[69] And according to the legend about Alexander's march into the Caucasus as found in the Georgian chronicles (after Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, p. 33): "Étant venu dans le Karthli, il trouve chez tous les Géorgiens des coutumes plus abominables que chez aucun peuple. En effet les mariages et la débauche s'y pratiquaient sans égard à la parenté, on mangeait de tout ce qui avait vie, on dévorait les cadavres."[70] Moreover, Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 46) gives us a good example of a next-of-kin marriage in a Georgian royal family in Iberia. Moses of Chorene (iii, 20) and Faustus of

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[66] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 144 f.

[67] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 172.

[68] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 16 f.

[69] Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum," *Caucasica*, I (1924), p. 6.

[70] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

Byzantia (iv. 4) establish the existence of endogamy in Armenia, while the 532 present-day local endogamy of Svanetia may very well be a vestige of former in-breeding.[71]

There are two facts which we can deduce from the existence of endogamy in Georgia and Armenia. First of all, we are justified in looking for a *common* source of endogamy for Georgia, Armenia, and Daghestan. Secondly, we are justified in looking for this source in *pre-Christian* times, that is, before the Christianization of Georgia in the fourth century.

The origin of endogamy in all three countries must, as it seems, be sought in Iran.[72] Endogamy among the peoples of Daghestan is a survival of the ancient Avestic religion, which the Mohammedan missionaries had to combat when they came to spread the teaching of the Prophet.

In the Mazdaic creed (*Yasna* xii. 9) we find the *xvaêtvadatha* (Pahlavi *xvêtôkdas*) as an obligation. Originally the *xvaêtvadatha* ("next-of-kin marriage") aimed at preserving the purity of blood of the Iranian nobility, which was numerically weak and could be perpetuated only by in-breeding. The priests formed, in much the same way, a distinct class and cooperated with the nobility in fostering endogamous marriages. Once the custom had been firmly established, it was not difficult to attribute it to Ahura Mazda Himself and to His Prophet Zarathustra.[73]

That the *xvaêtvadatha* was an important doctrine cannot be denied and hence this all-important teaching could not have been disregarded when the Avesta was introduced into the Caucasus. It must have been taught to the converts and accepted by them, for the *xvaêtvadatha* is one of the surest marks of genuine piety in the coming days of evil; by it mortal sin is expiated; it is a bulwark against the attacks of the demons; it is the second of the seven good works; it is the ninth of the thirty-three ways of entering heaven; and lastly, Zarathustra is supposed to have prescribed it as the eighth of his ten admonitions to mankind and declared it meritorious. In fact the next-of-kin marriage is supposed to be the source of "complete progress in the world... even unto the time of the renovation of the universe." (*Dâtistân-î Dînîk* lxxvii. 6 f).[74]

If we wish to delve deeper into the history of Caucasian endogamy, we must first face a very difficult problem, a task which in fact we shall have to leave to specialists. The problem regarding the origin of next-of-kin marriages in Avestic Iran itself is controverted. Some believe it is genuinely Persian while others maintain that its ultimate source is a non-Indo-European people (perhaps of Magian origin and therefore neither Indo-European nor Semitic).[75]

That endogamy should survive in Daghestan and disappear in Georgia and Armenia is not to be wondered at. Christianization of the two latter countries was incomparably more thorough than the Islamization of the Lesghian moutain peoples.

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[71] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[72] Here we fully agree with M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 89.

[73] Cf. L. H. Gray, "Marriage (Iranian)," *Hasting Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 458.

[74] Cf. L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

[75] L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

582 ghian mountain peoples. Early ecclesiastical law of Georgia and Armenia attacked next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence, while Islamic law *permitted* the Daghestanians to continue the practice, except, of course, the brother-sister marriages. The Armenian National Council of Ashtishat (A. D. 365) prohibited all marriages in the lateral line up to the third degree of relationship.[76] Later even fourth degree relatives were excluded from mating, while other Church decrees and tradition considered marriages between relatives even up to the seventh degree as incestuous.[77] Islamic law on the contrary, permitted first-cousin marriages.[78] Moreover the local and linguistic isolation of the 190 Lesghian tribes and constant family-feuds favoured endogamy. Today there are about 30 distinct languages in Daghestan and formerly there must have been many more, not to mention the numerous dialects. Some languages are spoken by as few as a thousand people, or as is the case with the Nakhada by only one hundred and thirty-five persons.

Although the Iranian culture area extended beyond North Caucasia, we have no evidence of the existence of the next-of-kin marriages in Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus. What kept the Cherkess and the Abkhaz from falling into line with their Eastern and Southern neighbours, or what has contributed to its early death after endogamy had been introduced, is not easy to say. The greater geographical remoteness from the centres of endogamy (Egypt, Sumeria, Elam, Arabia and Persia are the classical regions for brother-sister marriages), the well-established aristocracy with no danger of extinction, the strong, proud tradition regarding incest, the great respect for their own *adats*, the example of the élite of the Caucasus (the Kabardians), and Christianity seem to have been the main factors involved. We do not know if endogamy has ever existed among the Chechens.

2. The Impediment of Affinity

500 By an impediment of affinity we understand that degree of propinquity between a husband and a female relative of his wife or between a wife and a male relative of her husband which by law or custom is a bar to marriage. This particular impediment has not yet been sufficiently investigated by the field-workers; however we shall treat of this impediment indirectly when speaking of the levirate, sororate, and widow inheritance.

3. The Impediments of Fictitious Kinships

582 608 By fictitious kinship we understand any relationship based on grounds other than consanguinity or affinity. To what extent do such artificial kinships bar two Caucasians from mating? Fieldworkers have indeed investigated the various forms of fictitious kinship, but, unfortunately, not in relation to mating. There is still much to be done in regard to this important impediment.

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[76] Klidschian, "Das armenische Eherecht," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XXV (1911), p. 332 ff.

[77] Zdenko Vinski, "*Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*," p. 138 (MS).

[78] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

(1) The *Kunak*-relationship is a contract between two men of different localities according to which they are obliged to offer mutual hospitality and protection whenever the occasion lends itself. Whenever a Caucasian passes near a fellow-*kunak's* village while travelling, he will infallibly pay him a visit and will lodge with him at least for the night. Restaurants, inns, and hotels are unknown among the mountaineers; the institution of *kunak*-relationship is however, an excellent substitute. Any offense committed against the guest will be avenged as if it were against one of the family. In fact, the bond that unites the *kunaks* is considered as sacred as, if not more sacred than, the family tie. The institution is found throughout North Caucasia.[79] The question whether members of the two families may intermarry or not seems to have been overlooked by the fieldworkers. It may very well be that such marriages are even preferred. We know for certain that such marriages are not barred in Ossetia.[80] 582 608 571

(2) Another form of fictious kinship is the *tleush*.[81] According to Longworth it constitutes an impediment. The Cherkess, we are told, take an oath among themselves and become "brothers," and "to strengthen the illusion of their being such, their families are not allowed to intermarry; a regulation so rigidly observed, that even where the society is composed of many thousands, as in the case of the powerful one of Natquo, it still holds good, and a marriage between two individuals of it is looked upon as incestuous".[82]

(3) *Relationship by milk (parenté de lait, Milchverwandtschaft)* is a widespread institution. There are two ways in which the relationship can be formed: either by actual breast-sucking or by mere contact of the lips and breast of a woman.[83] The kinship thus formed is as sacred as that of consanguinity. Karginov describes how an Ossetine lover was once forced to kiss the breast of his beloved, the aim of the act being to put an end to their adulterous friendship, for once his lips would touch her breast he would become her "son." From that moment on intercourse and marriage would be looked upon as incestuous.[84] Gaerber wrote in 1728: "Whenever the Usmei has a son, he is carried round from village to village, and alternately suckled by every woman who has a child at her breast until he is weaned. This custom, by establishing a kind of brotherhood between the prince and his subjects, singularly endears 582 608 853

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[79] An excellent description of the *kunak*-relationship can be found in Dirr's article, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLI (1925). See also Interiano, *Della vita dei Zychi, chiamati Circassi*, Ramusio, II (1559), folio 140 v. M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 190: Ossetes, Tartars, Kumyks have the practice too. N. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 15—25.
Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingušskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4—7.
A. P. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, pp. 86f.
The host will even give up his life for his guest; see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 108.

[80] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 214.

[81] For possible origin of the practice and ceremonies connected with the institution see V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 2, pp. 80f.

[82] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 229.

[83] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, pp. 439f.

[84] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, p. 183.

582 them to each other."[85] The Utsmi or Usmi were rulers of Kaitag, said to date 608 from the Arab conquest in the eighth century or soon after.[86] The custom of 853 the Usmi did more than merely endear the baby prince to his subjects. The inhabitants actually considered the prince their foster-brother and for him they were ready to die, for milk-relationship implied as strong a tie as that of consanguinity.[87] [628] The anonymous *Tagebuch* (p. 59)[88] gives us another example: an Ingush "murderer of an only son flies to the mother and, dagger in hand, compels her to give him her breast. Other relatives demand blood-revenge, but the woman, whose right it is to decide, says 'now that he has sucked my breast, if you kill him I lose *two* sons,' and the murderer's life is spared."[89]

Both forms of adoption, by actual and by ceremonial breastsucking, are in full accord with the *šarî'a*. According to the Koran, iv. 27, relationship by milk constitutes an impediment as stringent as that of blood propinquity. Excluded from marriage are the woman and her adopted child; the child and all those suckled by the same woman; the child with all his descendents and the woman who suckled him with all her milk and blood relatives and those of her husband. Such kinship is known in Islamic law as *raḍâ* or *raḍâ'h*[90]

It is difficult to determine just in how far the Caucasian practice is dependent on that of Islamism. The explorers and *adat* collectors fail to tell us to what degree marriage between milk-relatives is looked upon as incestuous. In all probability the institution existed in the Caucasus long before the introduction of the Koran. It seems to be pre-Islamic for various reasons. First of all, the custom is not limited to Mohammedan Caucasians but is found among Christian tribes as well, for example in Armenia.[91] Moreover it is very difficult to imagine that a *mere* ceremony, and a *foreign* one at that, could dispense a Caucasian from the most sacred obligation of avenging the blood of a murdered relative. Anyone who has studied Caucasian customary law will admit that perhaps no *adats* are so unchangeable as those regarding blood-feuds. It is unintelligible how an imported ceremony, especially among tribes that have been converted to Islamism rather recently and then only half-heartedly, could change these almost unchangeable *adats*. Finally, relationship by milk is neither an Islamic invention nor restricted to Mohammedan countries (it is found, for example, also among the nomadic peoples of Asia); it could exist in the Caucasus independently of Mohammedanism too.

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[85] G. Ellis, *Memoir of a map of the countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian nations and vocabularies of their languages*, London, 1788, pp. 40 f.

[86] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 18, note. Ellis, *l. c.*

[87] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[88] *Tagebuch einer Reise, die im Jahr 1781 von der Gränzfestung Mosdok nach dem innern Caucasus unternommen worden*, Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1797. A certain Steder is the author.

[89] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262.
U. Laudaev, "Priměčanija k statě čečenskoe plemja," SMOMPK, VI (1872), p. 50.

[90] Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfiitischen Schule nebst einer allgemeinen Einleitung*, p. 219.

[91] *Baddeley, op. cit.*, I, p. 263.

(4) The *atalyk* is a form of adoption once spread among all mountain tribes 592
of North Caucasus,[92] the Ossetes,[93] the Tartars, e. g., the Kumyks.[94] We still
find it today among the Kabardians, but the practice has become rare.[95] Soon 597]
after birth,[96] or, as some authors claimed, at the age of seven or twelve, the [565]
prince or princess is received into a noble family to be brought up by foster-parents. The prince is taught to ride, to be brave, eloquent and polite, and to steal. When he is old enough to carry arms, he returns to his father.[97] Princesses are usually poorly nourished, for slenderness may not be divorced from the dignity of a princess. She is taught by her foster-mother how to embroider, weave, make straw mats and baskets.[98] She may not be seen by her parents until [584]
her marriage, and it is the right of the foster-father to select a mate for her.[99] The *atalyk* is usually restricted to the upper classes,[100] the foster-parents being chosen from the next (lower) class.[101] The relation between the foster-child and the educator is as intimate and as sacred as actual blood-relationship, if indeed not more so. Sometimes a foster-child will take revenge on his own father to repair an injury done to his adopted family.[102] Marriage between the foster-child and a member of the educator's family are, of course, prohibited. We are unable to say to what degree: on the one hand, the older explorers failed to inquire into *adats* regarding this prohibition; while, on the other hand, the institution has practically disappeared, so that now it is impossible to ascertain the degree through new enquiries.[103] The *atalyk* is perhaps a pre-Islamic institution borrowed from the Turco-Mongols.

(5) We find several other forms of adoption in the Caucasus. Islamic law does not recognize any impediment arising from adoption, except, of course,

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[92] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.
M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 191.

[93] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f, §§ 152—160.

[94] M. Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[95] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[96] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs 1793—1794*, I, p. 388;
J. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 137;
J. Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, Tome XI, p. 170;
Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[97] Ellis, *Memoir of a Map etc.*, pp. 22 f; Pallas, *l. c.*

[98] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 389.

[99] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 388 f.

[100] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Digorian *farsagleg* class (*infra*, pp. 63 f) has the custom too; cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 212 f.

[101] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f., §§ 152—160.

[102] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[103] The *atalyk* was a means of reconciliation after a murder had been committed. The murderer would kidnap a child of the victim and become its foster-father, thus making revenge impossible. (Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262; Ladyženskij, *l. c.*; Leontovič, I, p. 140; Dirr, AGKB, p. 43.) Reineggs however gives an example of such an adopted son who was constantly waiting for an opportunity to carry out his sacred obligation of vengeance, regardless of fosterage (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, pp. 221 f.). For more about the *atalyk* see the authors cited and N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 120—125.

582 597 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Ḥâriṯah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-[602] existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced [608] the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to pre-[428] vent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the mountaineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

4. Disparity of Social Rank

565 [582] We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the body-guards of the princes, (3) the nobility, (4) peasants, slaves, and prisoners 565 of war.[110]

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 64. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

The haughtiest nobility of all Caucasia was that of the *Cherkess*.[111] Anyone seeking an example of Medieval feudalism at its height needs but study the reports about the Cherkess of about a hundred years ago. It was only in 1867 [566] that slavery and serfdom were abolished.

But not all Cherkess tribes were equally feudalistic. Thanks especially to the powerful aristocratic merchant class of the coastal tribes (the Shapsugs and Natukhai), feudalism disappeared in extreme western Circassia long before the Russians abolished it elsewhere in the Caucasus.[112] The Kabardians were of course the most feudalistic. "Endless is the list of Kabardian social ranks... They even have a code of laws, the *Adygé-Khabse*, which determines every step of the Kabardian lords, defining very exactly their rights and obligations toward the princes and toward the people." Four princely families ruled over Kabardia at the time of the Russian-Caucasian wars.[113]

This long list of Kabardian ranks may be summed up as follows:[114]

(1) The Princes,[115] also called *Bey*[116]

(2) The Nobility

  (a) of the first order: *tlekotlesh*, i. e., "The Strong Generation"[117] or "*Uzden* of the First Class."[118]

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[110] E. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part. II, p. 324.

[111] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Stth. d. russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 369.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 188.
Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, pp. 192—216.

[112] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 46 f.

[113] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 189, from whom the quotaiton is also taken.

[114] A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 38—49.
Maslovskij, "Privillegirovannyja soslovija kabardinskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—13 (This is the product of a special committe for collecting native laws in the Terek Territory, under the direction of Maslovskij.).
Leontovič, II, pp. 237—245, for the rights of the different classes. See also Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181.
Dirr, AGKB, p. 35, *note* 43.
Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, p. 249.
Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 172.

[115] Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), p. 38.

[116] Reineggs, *l. c.*

[117] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181. J. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," *Révue des études islamiques*, 1929, No. 2, p. 249.

[118] The word "uzden" is of Tartaric derivation (Klaproth, *l. c.*).

- (b) *Uzden* of the second class i. e. "The Princely *Uzden*,"
  - 1° The *Pshi*[119] or "Princely Guards"
  - 2° The *Uork*
- (c) *Uzden* of the third order, i. e., courtiers and messengers.

(3) The Freedmen, called *Azat* or *tfokotl*
- (a) The *azats* who were freed by a prince or by a noble who had been raised to the dignity of nobility a long time previously.
- (b) The *azats* who were set free by newly created and hence inferior nobles.

(4) The Serfs i, e., *Bshitl*[120]
- (a) The *beslen bshitl*, i. e., domestics of the princely family.
- (b) The labourers
  - 1° labourers of the first class
  - 2° labourers of the second class.

(5) The Slaves, called *nauts*.

Pallas estimates that there were about 16,000 commoners to about 1,500 *uzden*.[121]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Of all Caucasians the *Chechens* are supposed to be the most democratic. At least that is their own conviction. "We are all *uzden*," they are fond of repeating, "everyone of us." The Chechens even have a legend according to which social classes are supposed never to have existed among them.[122] When they say they are *uzden* they of course do not understand a distinct class of nobles as do the neighboring Ossetes and the Cherkess. If you ask them what they mean they will answer, "We are all *uzden* because we are all free men; everyone of us is his own master; everyone of us is independent and free, as free as a wolf."

But the question is: Is there really only one class? Of course we are speaking of the conditions prior to 1867, before the Russians abolished slavery.

(1) A princely class has never existed among the Chechens, neither *de jure* nor *de facto*, except for a very short time. In the eighteenth century the Chechens invited a foreign princely family (the Turlovs) to bring order to Chechnía and to defend them against Kumykian and Kabardian raiders. It may very well have been that the Turlovs were actually forced upon the Chechens rather than invited. In any case, this princely family was considered as "intruders" and was driven out of Chechnia as soon as the natives were strong enough to

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[119] Cf. Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[120] J. Castagné, *l. c.* calls them "pehitli".

[121] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise etc.*, I, p. 386.
Pokrovskij in his *Istoria Rossii v XIX věkě* (after Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 f) distinguishes the social classes as follows: "Le pschilt ou prince suzerain; le *bébkolt* ourvassal de 1er degré; le *beslen vouork* ou arrière-vassal; le *vouork* ou vassal en général; les ouzdènes ou valets, armés; *loganapouts* ou valets non armés, les *dunaouts* ou paysans et serfs de tous degrés."

[122] A. Rossikov, "Putešestvie po central'noj časti gornoj Čečni," ZKO, XVIII (1896), p. 140.
Leontovič, II, p. 80.
N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 451.

[123] V. P. Požidaev, *Gorcy sěvernago kavkaza*, p. 14.

defend themselves against the raiders from Kabardia and the Kumykian plains. 565
The Turlovs[1] did not affect the social organization of the Chechens very deeply. After the ruling family[1] had been compelled to leave Chechnia, the mountaineers continued to live as classlessly as before ; each Chechen sib was a government in [614]
itself with little or no interest in the neighboring sibs.[124] In the *adat* collection of 1849 for the villages of Sunsha we read : " There is no special *adat* regarding [621]
the bride-price for princes because the inhabitants do not have any princes."[125]

(2) A perusal of any *adat* collection will convince us that *de jure* the Chechens do not have a nobility either. Thus, for example, in the collection of adats of 1844 of Vladikavkaz Province (the Dzher, Kists, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulaks) we read in § 2 : " No Chechen family has any privilege over any other family." *De facto* however there are influential families. Any family or sib may become more important than the others by manifesting extraordinary bravery or more especially by outnumbering the others.[126] Such families (or to be more exact, sibs) decide what is " wrong " and what is " right," what should be done and what should be left undone.

(3) There are actually two classes : the free and the slaves, the latter being [567]
mainly prisoners of war and captives taken in raids. Reineggs describes how in the eighteenth century the Chechens would mercilessly rob strangers and then demand a ransom. If the victim happened to be a fellow-Mohammedan, he naturally could not become a slave[127] if he failed to be ransomed, and consequently was murdered. On the other hand if the captive was a non-Muslim and was of a poor family that was unable to ransom him, he had to remain as a slave.[128] The adats distinguish between two classes of slaves, the *lai* and the *yasir*, the difference between the two being that the *yasir* could be ransomed while the *lai* could not.[129] But in spite of this difference the lot of the *lai* was not as unbearable as might seem at first sight. He was, practically speaking, more or less only a nominal slave, for, as a rule, he was declared free after some time or was *ipso facto* emancipated through marriage.[130]

The situation in Daghestan is much the same as among the Chechen tribes. On the whole the *Lesghians* are very democratic, virtually classless. Class division, wherever it existed, was not of Lesghian origin but was brought from without. It can be roughly sketched as follows.

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[124] Ladyženskij, " Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 441 ff.
N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 141.
Leontovič, II, pp. 86, 114 § 2.
Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90.
Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder etc.*, pp. 148, 153.

[125] Leontovič, II, pp. 114, § 2, 123, § 1.

[126] A. H. Günther, " Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38. Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reisen in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 243.

[127] An Islamic prohibition. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 38.

[128] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

[129] Leontovič, II, p. 80. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 452.

[130] U. Laudaev, " Priměčanja k statě čečenskoe plemja," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 52. Leontovič, *l. c.* Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Byhan, *La Civilisation Caucasienne*, p. 191.

[1] [foreign princely family invited to be rulers of the Chechens in the eighteenth century--Analyst]

624 (1) Most of the Leghian peoples were ruled by their own freely-elected elders independently of any prince. Of course, the Avars and the Laks had their khans,[131] while the Andi were subject to Kumykian and Avarian rulers.[132] After the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, chief native officials approved by the Military Government were known as *nā'ibs.*[133]

565 [614] (2) Despite the fact that the Lesghian peoples have been subject to a more or less foreign aristocracy—the gradation being khan, bek, uzden, commoner and slave—[134] the people themselves remained essentially classless. Interest centred mainly around one's own sib. What generally determined precedence among the different sibs was, just as among the Chechens, not noble birth but the size of the sib.[135]

(3) Commoners.

[567] (4) Slaves. Lesghian slaves were usually prisoners taken in war or raids.[136] On paying a ransom or after a 10-year service or on marrying a Mohammedan the slave would be emancipated.[137]

[193] The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The complexity of the Georgian social classes surpasses even that of the Cherkess, a fact of which a mere glance through King Vakhtang's Code will convince us.[138] It should be noted that the clergy do not form a distinct class; rather their class is determined by their ecclesiastical rank. In the following outline we shall also indicate the approximate social rank connected with the various ecclesiastical dignities.

(1) The King. The crown is inherited by the first-born male child. The *Catholicos* i. e., Patriarch of Iberia, ranks immediately after the King. (King Vakhtang's Code § 25.)

(2) Princes:

- (a) The princes of the first order *(didebuli thavadi).* Archbishops. (§ 26)
- (b) Princes of the second order. Bishops. (§ 27)
- (c) Princes of the third order and archimandrites. (§ 28)

(3) Nobles *(Aznauri)*:

- (a) *Aznauri* of the first order and priors with the function of an abbot. (§ 29)

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[131] Cf. Gadži-Ali, "Skazanie očevidca o Šamilě," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 6.

[132] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 165.

[133] The word is derived from the Arabic *nā'ib*. The territory over which the naib was in charge we shall call "naibate". For an excellent description of a naib family see Halil Beg Mussayassul, *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, München, 1936.

[134] Cf. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[135] Cf. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 130.

[136] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russ. Prov.*, p. 117.

[137] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.
The social stratification of Daghestan has been treated in: A. Tomai, "Materialy k voprosu o feodalizme v istorii Dagestana," *Revoljucionnyj Vostok*, (Moscow, 1935), No. 5, pp. 116—137.

[138] Cf. Karst's edition, pp. 81—85.

(b) *Aznauri*[1] of the second order. Regular priests and monks. Merchants of the first order (mok'alak'is, i. e., "inhabitants of the city," usually rich Armenian families of merchants living in Tiflis.[139] 565 [441]

(c) *Aznauri* of the third order and landowners. Here we must include also the merchants of the second order and parish priests. (§ 31) [193]

(d) Merchants of the third order and archdeacons. (§ 32)

(e) Merchants of the fourth order, peasants and artisans *(glekhi)*.[140]

East of the Cherkess, separating them from the Northeastern Caucasians, are the probable descendents of the Alans known as OSSETES. Social differentiation was practically unknown in Ossetia. The rank of "nobles" (*aldars* and *badilyats*) was found only among certain Ossete tribes such as those of Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk, and even in these cases the "nobles" did not enjoy any essential privileges. Among the other tribes there existed at the most an initial stage of social stratification.[141] The Alaghir were specially averse to social classes.[142]

Since it is quite probable that the Ossetes are a remnant of the Alans and Sarmatians, we might rightly ask whether social classes disappeared only in their later history or whether it is an ancient tradition. Moses of Chorene (A. D. 370—490) speaks in his *History of the Armenians* of the son of an Ossetine ruler. This prince, we are told, was captured in a battle between the Ossetes and the Armenians. This report, however, is not reliable, being based on mere legend.[143] Ammianus Marcellus (*Rerum gestarum*, xxxi. 2) seems to be closer to the truth when he writes: "All the Alans are equally of noble descent. They have no slaves." Tacitus indeed says that the Alans were "divided into small tribes and groups, each having a chief or prince," but, as Ladyženskij rightly points out, Tacitus is most likely referring here to the *elders* of each sib and not to princes in the strict sense.[144] [101]

Before the abolition of slavery in the Caucasus the following four distinct classes could be found among the Tagaurians:[145]

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[139] Karst, *p.* 82, *note* 7.

[140] These classes existed in pre-Soviet times. The *eristhavi* or "heads of the people" (a class of nobles who held the position of provincial governors) disappeared much sooner. They used to be appointed by the King; the office however, once bestowed, could be passed down from father to son. Cf. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 102.
The history of Georgian social classes has been studied by S. Danalia, *Fedaluri revoluthia Sakarthvelošï. Narkvevi tarmološis istoridan Sakarthvelošï* (Feudal Revolution in Georgia. A Historical Sketch of the Origin of Feudalism in Georgia); Tiflis, 1935.

[141] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov etc.," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 121. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), pp. 428 f.

[142] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325.

[143] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 443.

[144] *ibid.*

[145] Dirr, AGKB, *p.* 79, *note* 117. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 17—20. Leontovič, II, p. 9. B. V. Skitskij, *K voprosu o feodalisme v Digorii*, Ordžonikidze, 1933.

1/n [Georgian noble -- Analyst]

565 (1) The upper class, known as *uzdenleg*, the *aldars*,[146] though forming a kind of nobility, cannot be compared with the Kabardian nobles because *any* Tagaurian sib could work itself up to the top of the social ladder through wealth or number.[147] In Digoria the upper class were known as *badulyats*.

(2) The middle class people or *farsagleg* were the free tenants.

[595] (3)[1] The *kavdassarts* were all those born of a secondary wife (*numulus*) or of a concubine. They formed what might be called a bondsmen's class.[148]

[567] (4) The slaves or *gurziag (gurdziag)* is a word derived from "a Georgian," clearly showing that the slaves were mainly prisoners taken in war and raids.

We find similar social ranking among the neighbouring TURCO-MONGOLS. The Kumyks were formerly divided into three classes: (1) the nobles of the first, second, and third order (*uzden*); (2) the bondsmen or *chagars*; (3) the slaves or *kuls*.[149] The Karachai used to be divided into four classes:[150] (1) the princes *(tav big)*; (2) nobles *(kara-uzden)*; (3) serfs *(ilgyly-kul)*; (4) slaves *(ilglysizkul)*. The Turkomans of Stavropol Government, while still nomads, were perhaps the most classless of all peoples inhabiting the Caucasus, even more so than the Alaghirs and the Chechens.[151] The Kalmucks are divided into three main social ranks: the nobles *(saisan)*, the clergy, and the commoners *(aimak)*.[152]

Now that we have learned the social ranks as they existed before the abolition of slavery in 1867, we are in a position to study the affects of social stratification on mating.

565 582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. We cannot help marvelling at the complicated ranking of the *Cherkess* society. When feudalism was at its height in Circassia, not only were inter-class marriages impossible, but even marriages between persons from different subdivisions of the same class and even between persons of different sub-subdivisions of the same subdivision. Thus a nobleman might not marry a girl unless her family had been raised to nobility about the same time as his.[153] A very similar situation prevailed in *Abkhazia*.[154]

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[146] They could own land and slaves.

[147] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 f.

[148] *Kavdassart* means literally "one born in a stable," while *numulus* means "a nominal or illegitimate wife."

[149] The bondsmen were originally free land-owners, who later became bondsmen by falling into debts which they were unable to pay off. As a result they became subject to their lords even much more than were the Ossetine *farsaglegs*, for the latter had the right to abandon their masters while the *chagars* enjoyed no such right.
For more about the Kumykian social ranks see Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—37.

[150] For a full description of feudalism among the Karachai in the nineteenth century see E. N. Studeneckaja, "K voprosu o feodalizme i rabstve v Karačae XIX v.," SE, 1937, No. 2—3, pp. 45.

[151] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

[152] Zichy, *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 30. (Part I.)

[153] Reinegg, *op. cit.*, I, p. 252. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 228, 278.

[154] P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 35.

[1] [among the Tagaurians in southern Caucasia--Analyst]

It is true that a change in this ancient and once inviolable law has since taken place.[155] However, it would be wrong to imagine that under the strong Soviet influence of today all traces of a mating inpediment have necessarily disappeared. No doubt, a mating impediment no longer exists *officially*, but it is still observed in practice.[156]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The *Chechens* chose mates with practically no concern about social rank. After all they had only two classes, the free and the slaves, and the latter could easily be emancipated by paying a ransom or even by marriage itself. Not the social rank as such but an appropriate bride-price was of importance.[157]

Strictly speaking, disparity of social rank did not constitute a mating impediment among the Lesghians either. In parts of Daghestan where the society was definitely stratified, marriages between members of different classes were indeed strongly discouraged but not to the extent that they were impossible.[158] About a hundred years ago Svěčin[159] observed that "an Avar khan may marry a daughter of a *bek*, a bek may marry a daughter of an *uzden*" and a commoner may marry a slave if the latter is willing to accept Mohammedanism. Sometimes a family of an upper class marries one of their sons to a girl of a lower class or a widow in order to acquire an additional worker or to replace a hired servant.[160] It is interesting to note the similarity between the Avarian "servant-wife" and the Ossetine *numulus*. In both cases the marriage is juridically valid, although inferior. In the case of the "servant-wife" the family encourage her husband to avoid and despise her. In both cases children born of the marriage inherit the social rank of the mother. In a word, marriages between individuals of different classes, though discouraged, are not prohibited. Dubrovin assures us that such marriages were only of rare occurrence in Ossetia.[161] The following table shows the rank of a child born of such interclass unions among the Ossetes.

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus insist on equality of rank.[162] Among the Nogai interclass marriages are extremely rare.[163]

In regard to the stringency of the rule we may, in conclusion, divide the entire Caucasus into three zones: (1) an Abkhaz-Cherkess-Georgian zone, (2) a Chechen zone and (3) a Lesghian zone. The most feudalistic society existed in the first zone and it was there that the impediment of disparity of social rank was insisted upon most of all. The "Chechen Zone" was the most classless

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[155] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 225.

[156] As Ladyženskij observed in 1927: "So z. B. sind wohl die Stände abgeschafft, aber einer der Beamten des Aulispolkom wurde entlassen, weil einer seiner Verwandten sich mit einer armen ehemaligen Adeligen verheiratet hatte ... Klassenzugehörigkeit wird noch mit Standeszugehörigkeit verwechselt." (Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 191 f.)

[157] *Infra*, pp. 83 ff.

[158] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 169 f.

[159] "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), pp. 54—65.

[160] N. L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semjnaja žizn etc.," p. 19.

[161] *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[162] In regard to Kumyks see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 637, and Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 31.

[163] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 277.

TABLE 7[*]

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Social Rank of Ossete Child of an Interclass Marriage

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[858]

Mother→ Father · Child	*uzden*	*farsagleg*	*kavdassart*	*gurziag*
uzden	uzden	kavdassart	kavdassart	gurziag
farsag.	farsagleg	farsagleg	farsagleg	gurziag
kavdass.	kavdassart	kavdassart	kavdassart	gurziag?[**] kavdassart?
gurziag	gurziag	gurziag (in Tagaursk child free)	gurziag	gurziag.

[*] This table is based on data found in Kovalevskij's *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 202 f.

[**] Is it gurziag or kavdassart? There seems to be a contradiction: on page 202 Kovalevskij maintains: "Ne peut naître d'un père kavdassard qu'un kavdassard, quelle que soit sa mère... Les kavdassards peuvent acheter et posseder les gourziaks qu'ils ont achetés; mais les enfants de ces gourziaks seront kavdassards, et appartiendront au propriètaire du kavdassard, c'est-a-dire, à l'ouzdanelag." On page 203 we find: "Les fils et les fille d'une esclave sont toujours esclaves, et, commes tels, dépourvus de tout droit."

(and here we may also include the majority of the Ossete tribes) and least insistent on marriages exclusively within one's own class. In fact we can almost say that the prohibition is non-existent in Chechnia and in the greater part of Ossetia. The "Lesghian Zone" occupies a middle position between these two extremes.

5. Other Forms of Endogamy and Exogamy

582 We do not maintain to have exhausted the possibilities of endogamy-exogamy regulations. These possibilities, however, have been more or less overlooked by the explorers. We refer, for examples, to the marriage impediments arising from disparity of occupation, disparity of cult, disparity of nationality. We know, for instance, that the Kabardians freely intermarry with the Russians and Karachai,[164] and that they marry any non-Cherkess, especially if the other party is a Mohammedan or is willing to accept the Islamic religion,[165] but is that the situation everywhere in the Caucasus? Till more fieldwork is [608] done, such questions will have to remain unanswered. Midwives are sometimes considered related to the new-born, but we do not know how widespread the custom actually is. In regard to the impediment of disparity of cult we know that the Koran, ii. 20 f admonishes the Muslim: "Marry not a heathen woman before she be converted: a believing slave is much better even if she doth not please thee... The heathen woman will lead thee to hell, but Allah calleth thee to Paradise..." How strictly do the Islamic Caucasians observe this precept? There are doubtless many more lacunae that only the trained and exact fieldworker can fill.

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[164] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[165] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198

§ 3. OTHER MATING IMPEDIMENTS

1. Age

We are aware of no adat in North Caucasia prescribing marriage within one's own age class, nor does any adat establish a minimum marriage age. Islamic law sets no minimum age either. Mohammed himself did not hesitate to marry a six-year-old girl.[160] Marriage is, therefore, possible *(de jure)* at all ages. The following table indicates the *usual* marriage age.

TABLE 8

The Usual Marriage Age

Peoples		Approximate age of		Sources
		groom	bride	
Northwest.	Abkhaz and Cherkess	In mts. 18—25 ; elsewhere earlier.	In mts. 15—20 ; elsewhere earlier.	Ladyženskij, FT, 196. Castagné, 258. Vasil'kov, p. 89.
Northeast.	Chechens	20		Jakovlev, *Ingušî*, 48.
		17	12—15	Dubrovin, I, i, 427.
	Lesghians (Avars)	15	15	L'vov, 17.
Southerners	Khevsurs	very young ! 14 ?	20 and above	Hahn, *Bilder aus K.*, p. 82.
	Tushi	14—15	20—25	Byhan, 114.
	Pshavs	20—40	20—30	Makalatija*, 100.
	Other Georgians.	Formerly 15 ; to-day 16 and over	13—14	Byhan, 81. Mtavriev**, 149.
OSSETES		25	19	Hahn, op. cit., 40.
		minimum infancy	minimum 13—14	Dubois de Montpéreux, IV, 449.
KUMYKS			15	Semenov, 68.

* S. I. Makalatija, " Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 98—117.

** Th. Mtavriev, " Prostonarodnaja svad'ba v Kachetii," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 3, pp. 149—160.

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[160] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.

582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. No one will take it amiss if an old Kabardian marries a young girl. Although the Cherkess tribes along the coast of the Black Sea strongly discourage such pairing, disparity of age is not considered a marriage impediment.[167] While on his expedition in Circassia in 1927, Ladyženskij found no case of a young *man* marrying an old lady.[168]

Taking the Avars as an example of the NORTHEASTERNERS—marriages between rich old men of 50 to 60 and girls of 12 were not uncommon in the last part of the nineteenth century.[169]

Although neither customary nor Islamic law establish an absolute minimum age,[170] the *adats* sometime determine a *relative* marriage age. Thus a young man sometimes may not marry before his older brother, as is the case, for example among the Chechens[171] and the Cherkess.[172] Only if his brother happens to be [428] far from home and gives his explicit permission, may he marry. Anyone acting contrary to this customary law would *ipso facto* lose all rights to the family inheritance. In spite of this heavy sanction, the bride-price *(kalym)* would be paid for the offender and the marriage would be considered valid. The *adats* of the Cherkess are even stricter about girls marrying before their older sisters. To marry without her parents' permission before her older sister would bring upon her the curse of the family; in fact, they would even refuse the "filthy" brideprice. The motive behind these customs is to assure a marriage for the older members of the family before they become too old.[172a]

2. Debt as an Impediment

[426] According to the adat collection of the Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulak tribes a father may not give his daughter in marriage to anyone before he receives permission from his creditor.[173]

3. The Obligation of Proving One's Bravery before Marriage

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582 Baddeley informs us of another very peculiar marriage impediment. "In Deedo-land, formerly, no man would give his daughter or sister in marriage to a suitor who had not at least one Georgian right hand or arm nailed to the wall of his dwelling."[174] This was, no doubt, intended as a proof of the lover's mettle before the father of the girl would give his consent.[175] Such tests as a *conditio sine qua non* for marriage are found throughout the world, sometimes

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[167] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 196 f. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[168] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[169] L'vov, "Domałnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 20 *note*.

[170] This is especially evidenced by the widespread practice of infant betrothal and marriage in the North Caucasus and neighbourhood (*infra*, pp. 76, 78 ff).

[171] Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 138.

[172] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[172a] *ibid.*

[173] Leontovič, II, p. 115, § 8.

[174] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 81.

[175] This seems to have been a shortlived observance.

consisting merely in killing a wild animal (*e. g.*, the Yukaghir) or sometimes in 582
killing a man (*e. g.*, the Yoruba of West Africa).[176] Taibout de Marigny[177] [171]
describes how a Cherkess maiden would ridicule her would-be lover with the taunt "Why you haven't even stolen a cow yet and you want to marry me." And Herodotus, speaking of the Sauromatians, the probable ancestors of the Ossetes, informs us that the virgins could not marry till they had killed at least one enemy, or according to Hippocrates, three.[178] The Ossetine poet, Kosta Chetagurov, describes a custom of the nineteenth century according to which the suitor would have to live with his future bride's family from two to four weeks, during which time he would have to convince them that he is a true gentleman, clever, and reliable, in a word, possessing all qualities expected of a good husband.[179]

4. Impediments of Physical and Mental Deficiency

In Circassia venereal diseases, insanity, and impotency impede marriage.[180] The extent of these and similar impediments have unfortunately not yet been investigated.

5. Impediment of Divorce and Widowhood

The incapacity of a divorcée to contract a second marriage is indeed a very 582
rare impediment and is usually only temporary. We find such an impediment 587
in Armenia and in Khevsuria, and of these two cases we shall speak at length when treating the Caucasian divorce laws. A refusal to enter upon a levirate marriage may entail such an impediment (*infra*, pp. 71 f). In parts of Caucasus where Islamic law prevails there is of course the temporary prohibition for widows and divorcées to marry before their "waiting period" (*'iddah*) is over. When a husband dies, the widow is obliged to wait at least four months and ten days before she may remarry (Koran, ii. 234). A divorcée may not remarry before she has had three menstruations (*ḳurû*); in the case of older women, the *'iddah* is set at three months.[181]

Although customary law does not prohibit second marriages, they are looked upon everywhere in the Caucasus as inferior. The bride-price is considerably smaller and the nuptials take place without the customary solemnities.[182]

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[176] Cf. Briffault for other examples, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 184 f.

[177] *Voyage en Circassie 1835*, p. 55.

[178] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13, *note* 1.

[179] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov—narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 125.

[180] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[181] Koran, ii. 228 ; lxv. 4. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[182] *Infra*, pp. 121, 131.
See also O. Karanailov, "Aul Čoch," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 16. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.

6. Impediment Arising from Failure to Carry Out an Obligation of Vengeance

628 Vengeance is a sacred obligation among all the Mountain Tribes of Caucasus. 614 If a member of the sib is murdered or killed accidentally,[183] if a member of the family is raped or abducted, if the sacred hearth-chain is violated, or if the sib is offended seriously in any other way, the injured party incurs the strict and sacred obligation of vengeance. Self-defense calls for vengeance, for in the eyes of the mountaineers there is no competent authority common to the offender and the offended, who might compel the culprit's sib to repair the injury done. The blood of the victim, self-respect, and respect for the ancestors call for vengeance. Usually the nearest male relative of the victim has the obligation to kill the offender or one or more of his sib, depending on the local *adat*. Although the vendetta has become more a thing of the past, it still does occur now and then in our own days. Even today reconciliation (bloodwite) is regarded as a disgraceful exchange for the noble blood of a member of the family and at [582] times is refused.[184] Blood calls for blood alone! Even today, if a young mountaineer fails to carry out his sacred obligation of avenging an enemy (regardless of Soviet laws), he may have to remain single for the rest of his life, for no respectable girl would wish to marry him.[185]

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[672] [183] If a passer-by is killed by a stone kicked down a cliff by a sheep or goat, the owner of the animal becomes the blood-enemy *(qanly)* of the victim's sib. For other examples of similar customary laws see Dirr, AGKB, p. 107. Even in our own days accidents may be punished by death. See A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 332 ff.

[184] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[185] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 327. For blood-feuds in the Caucasus see the works of Dirr and Günther just cited, S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u Osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, and Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*.

Chapter III

Preferential Mating

§ 1. DESCRIPTION

Cross-cousin marriages, levirate and sororate are all preferential marriages. 582 By "preferential," however, we do not mean "optional." "Preferential" means "having a precedence" which may be optional or obligatory.

These three forms of preferential marriages are not the only forms known to man. There is, for example, another form, found in the Caucasus itself, the "step-mother marriages," and still others are possible.

The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS. The *Cherkess* were still Christians 587 when Interiano wrote of them, "It sometimes happens that a native will kill his brother and then will immediately become the bedmate of the widow."[1] Olearius describes the levirate as practiced during the reign of King Alexander Michailovič (c. 1650).

According to Circassian *adats* levirate was obligatory at least for the widow. In the collection of customary laws of the Black Sea, Kuban and Terek Territories we learn that the widow was indeed obliged to marry the brother of her deceased husband, but only "if his brother so wished." If he insisted on taking her to wife, her only means of escape was to pledge herself for life to the care of her children, and thus to remain unmarried.[2]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN. Count Potocki described the custom in his *Voyage dans les pays du Caucase* (1798) and adds the interesting remark that not only must the brother of the deceased man marry the widow but also a step-son must marry all his step-mothers. "After the death of the father," Potocki informs us, "his sons marry all his wives, except their own mother, whom one of the step-brothers marries. The Chechens reproach them for this infamous custom, but the Ingushi answer quite unconcernedly, 'My father was allowed to lie with my mother, why then may I not lie with his wife?'"[3] This "infamous custom" exists likewise among the neighbouring Daghestanians.[4] An *adat* dating from 1860 expressly states that in the Ingush Province "a widow was *bound* to marry her brother-in-law or another relative of the

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[1] Cited by R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 67.

[2] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 171. The levirate is no longer obligatory (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, i, p. 170).

[3] Cited by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186. See Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[4] Cf. F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 104.

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587 deceased."[5] The levirate among the mountaineers of Daghestan was completely optional.[6]

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The only time a widow of Svanetia is free from the obligation of entering upon a levirate union, according to Bodenstedt,[7] Dubrovin[8] and others, is when she actually does not have a brother-in-law. Among the Khevsurs, on the contrary, levirate was optional.[9]

About ninety years ago the Russian Military Government tried to abolish the practice in OSSETIA, but with very little success. Widows continued to be automatically married to their husbands' brother or father.[10] If the widow refused to comply, she was driven out of the house and had to remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[11] In the first half of the nineteenth century not even the brother of the deceased person was free, even if he already had a wife.[12] [581] According to Ossetine customary law the levirate was formerly regarded merely as a continuation of the first marriage, which was indissoluble. The children born of the new union belonged to the deceased; the children were even named after the deceased; they were rightful heirs of the deceased! If the widow did not have a father-in-law or brother-in-law she had to remain unmarried; she might, however, live in lawful concubinage and all children born would be considered legitimate and true sons and daughters of the departed.[13]

In spite of the express prohibition of obligatory levirate by Islamic law and in spite of the measures taken by the Russians, the levirate continued to be the general practice almost to our own times.[14] The difference between recent practice and that of old consists mainly in the binding force of the *adats*. Although the actual practice was perhaps at its height about fifty years ago, its binding force had begun to lose ground long before that time. Around 1890 Kovalevskij observed that the levirate was obligatory only for *near* relatives, otherwise such marriages were optional,[15] and today the binding force has disappeared completely.[16]

Finally, a word about a rare form of preferential mating, rare at least in the Caucasus, the sororate. Practically all reports on cases of sororate refer to the Ossetes. Kovalevskij implies that the practice is also in accord with Lesghian *adats*. Abercromby claims that "an Avar is permitted to marry his first cousin or two sisters."[17] The reports are usually not specific, leaving us in the dark as to whether the sororate in actual practice is simultaneous or successive. In Ossetia the greatest opponents of the custom were the "clergy."[18]

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[5] Leontović, II, p. 169, § 117.

[6] Kovalevskij, *Zakon* II, p. 175.

[7] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[9] Cf. Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus etc.*, p. 263.

[10] The inheritance of a deceased *son's* wife is not unknown even today (Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 226).

[11] Leontović, II, p. 50, § 14. Sometimes she would be granted permission to remarry.

[12] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, IV, p. 449. Kovalevskij, *Coutume temp.*, p. 180.

[13] Baron A. von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia* (Leipzig, 1856), pp. 402 ff.

[14] Cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes etc.*, p. 184. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 271.

[15] *Coutume contemp.*,

[16] Byhan, *op. cit.*,

§ 2. PROBLEMS REGARDING PREFERENTIAL MATING

Before we draw any conclusions from our data, a review of what we have said may be of advantage.

TABLE 9

Preferential Mating in Caucasia

PEOPLES		Adats permit levirate	Levirate Obligatory for		Sororate	Step-mother inheritance	Daughter-in-law inheritance
			Widow	Brother-in-law			
North-Western	Abkhaz	+	+	−		+	
	Cherkess	+	−	−		+	
North-Eastern	Ingushi	+	+	−		+	
	Lesghians	+	−	−	+	+	
Southerners	Svans	+	+	−			
	Khevsurs	+	−	−			
Ossetes		+	+	+	+	+	+

(1) The levirate is genuinely Caucasian, found among all mountaineers regardless of the religion to which the tribe may belong.

(2) *Obligatory* levirate is no longer found in the Caucasus. Formerly according to Cherkess and Chechen custom the *widow* was obliged to marry her brother-in-law if he desired it; in Ossetia the levirate was obligatory for both sides. This comparison clearly shows that wherever the *šarī'a* has struck deep root the levirate is optional; wherever the *adats* have maintained their original importance the custom remains obligatory at least in regard to the widow. This is but another example of the struggle that is continually going on between Islamic and customary law.[19]

(3) Step-mother inheritance is common to all Northerners. The sororate seems to be very rare, while the scarcity of reports relating to daughter-in-law marriages would incline us to believe that such marriages are the least common of all.

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[17] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[18] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 211 f., basing his assertion on Perevalenko, "In the Defiles of Kullarsk," (Russian), *Kavkaz*, 1847. p. 46, and on Dubrovin.

[19] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 175.

587 (4) We must disagree with Kovalevskij in his interpretation of the levirate as a vestige of former group marriage.[29] Without offering us any evidence, he takes up the theories of Morgan and Frazer and applies them to the Caucasus. Such an institution as "group marriage" exists nowhere in the world, and to imagine that it has ever existed is mere fancy. In an attempt to explain the origin of preferential mating in the Caucasus we should lay aside all guesswork [562] and study the culture before us. For example: the unbearably low position of the North Caucasian woman (*infra*, pp. 152—159) may have made her appear as inheritable chattel. After all, the family purchased her, paid a high price for her, and now she constitutes a part of the family property no less than do the horses, cows, and sheep. Moreover, as we have explained above (pp. 44 f), she is more than *ordinary* family property: she is the best family investment, for she is the "worker-producing" and especially the "boy-producing" organ on which depends the economic, religious, and social life of the family. This realization would only too naturally disincline the family to give her up after her husband's [591] death. As we shall see in the following chapter, mating is not a private affair; it is a strictly family affair, the prime purpose of marriage being the good of the family or sib. She, as it were, belongs more to the *family* that purchased her than to the individual member whose wife she is. Finally, if we consider the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, and pre-Avestic religion of the mountaineers, we are almost forced to postulate such an institution as widow-inheritance. [775] The life beyond does not differ from the present, and consequently the departed will need his wife in the nether world just as much as in this life. (We shall have occasion to speak of posthumous marriages! Cf. *infra*, p. 85.) We shall even show that suttee was not unknown in North Caucasus (Cf. *infra*, [842] pp. 131 f). The wife therefore must remain in the family. Moreover, the deceased needs offspring, a large progeny, just as much after death as during life, for his happiness and honour in the other world depend upon the cult he receives from his descendents. The widow, therefore, must remain in the family and another member must "raise up seed for his brother" and "build up his brother's house." In other words, the levirate is not a survival of a *primitive* culture but rather an institution very intimately connected with the economic, social and religious life of a relatively highly developed culture such as that of pastoral peoples.

595 [842] As a confirmation of what we have just now said about the origin of Caucasian preferential mating, we wish to describe another institution, still found today in various parts of Caucasus, the so-called *snohačestvo*. A boy-child is married to an adult girl with whom the father may have sexual intercourse as freely as with his own wife. The father is considered as living in lawful concubinage with his son's wife and may do so until the child becomes of age. We wish to stress that this practice is a perfect parallel to widow inheritance. The father "must raise seed" for his son and "build up his house" till he is himself able to do so. The children born of this concubinage belong to the childhusband, sometimes half to him and half to the progenitor. This is

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[29] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 181.

a widespread institution, for example, among the Dido[21] and the North Tabassaranians of Daghestan,[22] among the Tushi,[23] among the Ossetes,[24] in Southern Russia and Asia. *Snohačestvo* aims to accomplish before puberty what levirate accomplishes after death.

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[21] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.

[22] " Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, III (1875).

[23] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 183.

[24] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 177 f. Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, II, p. 101.

Chapter IV

Freedom of Choice

000 After we have shown which individuals are regarded as possible mates, we arrive at the second fundamental question: Who has the decisive word in selecting a definite mate from among the many possible ones? We shall have to answer such questions as: "Has the couple the decisive word?" "Has the young man more to say about his partner than the girl about hers?"

§ 1. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A MATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

584 [581] The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS, the Abkhaz and the Cherkess, regard marriage as a family affair. It is not a contract between two *individuals* but between two *families*, joint-families or sibs. The male head of the household has the right to marry off his child to whomsoever he wishes.[1] He has the sole *right*; whether he *uses* that right or not is an entirely different matter.

When speaking about the actual practice we must make the necessary temporal and local distinctions. Before the Revolution the Kabardians, contrary to Hahn's superficial observations,[2] paid little attention to the wishes of their daughters, whereas the Shapsugs, Abadzekhs, and Bzhedukhs generally considered the girl's preferences and even tried to act accordingly. After the Revolution (1920), the Soviet régime refused to recognize any marriage unless it had been entered upon freely. To a large extent this legislation had the desired results, but not entirely, for compulsory marriages still occur today.[3]

Since there is less family interest in the girl than in the boy (the girl is married off into a *strange* family), it is not surprising that more consideration is given the future groom than the bride. But we do not wish to say that the [582] preferences of the male children are always regarded more than those of the female. Infant betrothal[4] has always been possible in Circassia and therefore there is no question of male children having a *right* to choose their mates. *De jure* both sexes are on the same level; *de facto* the wishes of the boys are generally complied with more than those of the girls.[5]

142 583 One can hardly pick up a book on the Cherkess without coming across a paragraph or two about the unusual beauty of their women. Some authors go

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[1] V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[2] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 39. The questioning of the bride was a mere formality.

[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197. Castagné, *op. cit.*, 1929, No. 2, p. 259.

[4] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139.

[5] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

p.76 f [sic--Analyst]

so far as to give them the title of the "most beautiful women in the world." 583 Whether they, or perhaps the Mingrelians or others, deserve this title does not [142] concern us here. What does matter is the conviction of the Turks and Persians that Cherkess women are beautiful. It is said that the eunuchs of Persia used to lay down their lives for them, and today, it is a known fact, that the Turks are still willing to pay immense sums to have these singularly beautiful women in their harems. No wonder then, that bride-markets were not unusual in Circassia in the nineteenth century. And even today they are still operating, using of course the black-market technique. What we wish to emphasize is that the girl sold on the bride-market is not sold *against* her will. She is not sold as a slave, even though slave-traders are the middlemen of the actual purchasers. She is not sold against her will; no, she is proud to be sold, proud to see a man give up all he has just to win her. If it is not pride that makes her so eager to be sold on the bride-market, then it is ambition. These girls have dreams just as our girls do, though of a somewhat different type. In Turkey they will be sold to a *rich* man; they will be given a *comfortable* lodging, an excellent *education.* Dreams these are indeed, great dreams that can be realized only outside of their own homeland and only in a Turkish harem, only on the bride-market![6]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen girls according to 584 their own native *adats* have very little to say about their future husbands. They must wait till their father (or if he is dead, their eldest brother) marries them off to whomever *he* thinks is best,[7] and, primarily, of course, best for the family, for marriage is a family affair. Child-engagements[8] are again a proof that not even the male children enjoy the *right* to choose their mates.

decision of the Inigushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride[4]

§ 118 of the "*Adats* of the Ingush Province in the 1860's" calls for special attention. It reads: "Since the end of 1862, according to an unanimous decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride had freely consented.[9] The *adat* collection then goes on to give the motive for the decision (§ 156): "Till very recently (1862) a woman was regarded as a [582] slave: she enjoyed no human rights. Turning a deaf ear to her plea and [582] protests, disregarding her sobs and tears, her family would sell her off like a ram, throw her on a cart, and deliver her to her husband."[10] Such a miserable 585 bride, the collection tells us, would in most cases run away from her purchaser. But where could she flee except to her own family — unfortunately the same persons who sold her into "slavery"? Her family, however, had to return the fugitive to her lawful husband, for the contract had to be observed to prevent bloodshed. She would then run away again, and even a third time, making life

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[6] Cf. Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 202—207. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 279.

[7] Cf. The general *adats* for the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories, Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 148. *Adats* of 1843 for all Chechens, Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8. *Adats* of 1864 for the Chechen tribes of Salati, Aukh, and Idhkeria, Leontovič, II, p. 144. Adats of the 1860's for the Ingush Province, Leontovič, II, p. 169. A. P. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 427.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 118.

[10] "*Adats* of the Natives of the Ingush Province in the 1860's," Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156.

[4] [Sic—Analyst]

585 more and more miserable for herself.[11] Sometimes the court succeeded in bringing about a peaceful settlement, even a more or less happy reunion,[12] or the husband would in disgust divorce her.[13] That such cases have occurred cannot be denied, but we have here nevertheless an example of the proneness of pre-Soviet writers to exaggerate the " savagery " of the Caucasians.

584 The actual fact is that the Russian Military Government tried to abolish compulsory mating. The Ingushi " agreed " to allow their daughters to choose their own mates or at least to ask them if they consented to the marriage arranged by the head of the family. Grabovskij assures us that the innovation of 1862 was being observed but only as a formality. The girl was generally asked whether she wanted to marry the particular man chosen for her, but no matter what she answered, the plans of her family were infallibly carried out.[14]

The customary laws of the *Lesghians* in regard to freedom of choice do not differ from what we have learned about the other mountain tribes of North Caucasus. According to their *adats*, the *right* to choose a mate belongs to the head of the family and to him alone. If he so wishes, he may betroth his boy or girl while they are still in the cradle.[15] The Lesghian boys have much more to say about their future wives than the girls about their mates, and even in the last century the boys were never forced to marry anyone against their will.[16] Virgins were given much less freedom in selecting their partners than a girl that had lost her virginity.

But just why should a woman who no longer possesses her virginal integrity be given more freedom than a virgin? This practice seems to have been introduced by Islamism, for it is in full accord with the teaching of the Šâfi'itic School. Mohammed is supposed to have encouraged all Walîs (father or guardian) to ask the girl if she freely consented to the proposed marriage. The Prophet failed to specify just what he meant by " girls." The Šâfi'itic School maintained that " girls " means " non-virgins."[17] Others insisted that Mohammed did not intend to distinguish between " virgins " and " non-virgins " but rather between " girls of age " and " girls not yet of age," the

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[11] *ibid.* (§§ 157 f). The lot of a widow or divorcée was supposed to have been much the same. Cf. Leontovič, II, 169, §§ 117 ff.

[12] Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 158.

[13] *ibid.*

[14] " Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingušlevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 562.
Svěčin, " Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.
Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 180 f.
For customs relating to infant betrothal see: L'vov, " Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 17. According to Amirov, " Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30, mentions that the engagement takes place when the future mates are still under 10. Cf. also Požidaev, *Gorcy severnago Kavkaza*, p. 105.

[16] This was the practice in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 204.

[17] Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfi'itischen Schule*, p. 210.

sag̃ira and the *bâliga*. The *bâliga* had the right to declare any marriage arrangements made by the *walî* as null and void, i. e., the right of *hĭjar* (" retraction "). Still other interpreters were of the opinion that a distinction should rather be made between the rights enjoyed by the girl's father and grandfather and those enjoyed by other guardians — which of course only adds to the confusion.[18] What is of importance is that the Šâfi'itic doctrine prevailed in Daghestan: non-virgins are free to choose their own mates while virgins are not.

But under certain conditions virgins are free as well. In Avaria, for example, if the father of the girl happens to be away on a two-days journey, the girl may go to the mullah (in Avaria called *debîr*) and obtain permission to marry whomever she wishes.[19] But this practic too is not based on customary but on Islamic law.

Mohammed *recommended* (as a *sunna)* that all girls should be asked for their consent before marriage. Among the Avars[20] and the Laks[21] the marriage would be considered invalid if her consent were not asked. In Avaria two persons are sent by the *debîr* as official witnesses to her consent. At first sight all these regulations seem to guarantee freedom of choice, and not a few authors and explorers have made the mistake of not distinguishing between theory and practice.[22] In pre-Soviet times the girl's consent was indeed asked but merely as a formality.[23] As L'vov points out, the girl would infallibly consent, it is true, but not freely. She was afraid of offending her father.[24]

Despite the difference between theory and practice, it cannot be denied that Islamism has brought the Daghestanian woman a number of rights that she had not enjoyed before.[25] 52

The *adats* of the neighbouring peoples show a striking similarity to those of the Northern Mountaineers. The SOUTH CAUCASIANS (the Khevsurs, Pshavs, and Tushi) had the custom of infant engagement and therefore *de jure* the consent of the engaged persons was not required.[26] Dubrovin tells us that the Tushi and Pshavs generally married off their children with no or very little

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[18] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

[19] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 175 f.

[20] L'vov, " Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 25.

[21] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[22] Cf. Alichanov's series of articles " V gorach Dagestana," which are supposed to have appeared in the *Kavkaz*. These articles however are not available on this side of Russia. Baddeley believes that they have never appeared in book form *(The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 72, *note)*.
C. Hahn, " Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93. This article has been almost verbally translated in Hahn's *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*.
Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 104.

[23] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 204.

[24] " Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 22.

[25] We do not refer merely to Shamyl's reforms, which were only superficial.

[26] Eristov, " O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 109.
Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 153.
Hahn, Bilder aus dem Kaukasus, p. 82.
Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

584 regard for their wishes.[27] Today, of course, the Khevsurs[28] and the Pshavs[29] no longer force their daughters into any particular marriage.

The OSSETINE *adats* give the father the sole right to decide the mates for his sons and daughters. Child-engagements[30] and child-marriages[31] are not rare. The consent of the future bride and groom was generally asked for, but again, here as elsewhere in the Caucasus, it was usually a mere formality. In pre-Soviet Ossetia a well-bred girl was forbidden to manifest her preference for any particular man. She always had to " agree " and in no way show her displeasure. If she wanted to avoid marriage, suicide was sometimes the only means of escape.[32] But fortunately this means was very seldom resorted to; instead, the unhappy bride preferred to be the " slave " of her husband[33] for the good of the family. Mating was determined not so much by the mutual attraction of the bride and groom as by the will of the heads of the two families.[34]

The TURCO-TARTARS. The *Nogai* often betroth their children before they are seven years of age,[35] a custom universally practiced by the Turkic peoples.[36] Among the *Karachai*[37] and the *Kumyks*[38] it is again the head of the family who has the decisive word. In practice, however, the Kumykian girl seems to enjoy considerable freedom. A suitor must first propose to his beloved and only if the answer is in the affirmative (" If my family agrees ") may he approach his own father and then the family of the prospective bride.[39] A refusal [583] on the part of the girl's father generally would lead to elopement.[40]

§ 2. INPLICATIONS IN THE LACK OF FREEDOM OF CHOICE

In spite of the fact that the Caucasus is looked upon as an ethnographical museum, we find very little variety in regard to the right and practice of choosing mates. Everywhere, at least formerly, it was the father and he alone who had the right to arrange marriages for his children.

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[27] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[28] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[29] G. Demidov, V uščel'jach pervodbytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija), Moscow, Leningrad, 1930, p. 17.

[30] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 15.

[31] Dirr, AGKB, p. 121; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 334; Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 177 f, 192 f.

[32] Kovalevskij, op. cit., p. 193. In primitive societies suicide is seldom occasioned by disappointed love. Most of the time it is, as with the Ossetes, a rebellion against marrying a person the girl abhors (cf. Steinmetz, " Suicide among Primitive Peoples," *The American Anthropologist*, VII, p. 55.

[33] Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 449.

[34] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 277.

[36] H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 109.

[37] Klaproth, " Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 170.

[38] Semenov, " Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 68.

[39] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, " Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 32.

[40] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, *l. c.*

(1) This[1] is but another right from among the many that the male head of the family enjoys in a patriarchal society. The deeper reason for this monopoly is the fact that marriage is recognized by the *adats* as a family affair.

(2) Marriage is essentially an economic transaction and not so much a union between two lovers. Mutual attraction is not of paramount importance but rather the bride-price (*infra*, pp. 82—91), the social rank of the bride (*infra*, p. 90), her physical fitness for hard work (*infra*, pp. 156—159), her fertility and "capacity" to give birth to boys (*supra*, pp. 44 f, *infra*, p. 140), and her virginity (*infra*, p. 90). Not that love affairs do not occur among the mountaineers—even elopement is not rare (*infra*, pp. 96 f). What we wish to stress is that (especially formerly) the determining factor in deciding which individuals from among the many possible mates are to be married is, not love or sexual attraction, but the qualities just enumerated. This conception of an ideal wife fits perfectly into the culture of pastoral peoples.

(3) Since even the bride and groom have the same concept of an ideal match as the father, and since they realize that he can observe these qualities just as easily as they themselves, mating generally does not involve violence to the wishes of the partners.

[1] [i.e., to arrange a marriage--Analyst]

Chapter V

Means of Acquiring a Wife

§ 1. BY PURCHASE

1. Description of Customary Laws

533 "Bride purchase," as Lowie points out, is a blanket term for various transactions. It fits some cases indeed, but at other times it is a complete misnomer.[1] Such is certainly the case when speaking of the Caucasians. Some tribes actually have a bride *purchase*, while others do not ; some may have *had* the custom too but the nature of the payment has so completely changed in the course of years that it is false to speak of a price any longer. In some cases the "bride-price" is nothing more than a symbol ; or again it is a mere exchange of gifts, or finally a security for the wife, resembling the *donatio ante nuptias* of the Romans. We shall use the term "bride-price" only in its strict sense. But since a generic term embracing all financial obligations connected with the acquisition of a wife is indispensable, we shall use the native word (*kalym*, *irad* etc.) or "bride wealth" whenever such a general expression is needed.

[177] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Since the Cherkess have been subject to a rather unusually rapid acculturation in the past 150 years, it is not surprising that the bride-price of old should in the course of decades have taken on many new features. Instead of presenting a complicated historical description of the Cherkess bride-price from its beginning to its disappearance, it will be much better, I think, if we borrow and sum up Ladyženskij's conclusions.[2] (1) Up to the end of the nineteenth century the bride was actually *sold* (p. 197), and consequently regarded as a chattel. (2) Islamic law improved her position, in so far as a considerable portion of the payment became the property of the bride as a security in case of divorce. A portion of the payment was likewise set aside to cover the expenses of the wedding (p. 198). (3) From the end of the nineteenth century this modified form of bride purchase assumed a different meaning : the bride was no longer *sold* in the strict sense. Rather, the family of the bride deserved to be compensated for the expenses involved in rearing a child till it attained a marriageable age. It deserved to be [314] compensated also for the loss of a valuable worker. With such motives in view the Cherkess considered the *kalym* as a form of *captatio benevolentiae* of the entire sib of the bride, for the *kalym* was shared by all (p. 197). (4) Today the *kalym*

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[1] R. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 99. See his excellent section on "Bride Wealth," pp. 99—101.

[2] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 197 f. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

has in places disappeared completely, namely in the modern cities, where both partners earn money before their marriage (p. 197), while in other places it has disappeared officially, continuing only as a secret practice (p. 197). In 1921 the bride wealth fluctuated between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 (p. 198). 583

Generally the *kalym* is so high that the entire joint-family of the prospective groom must share the burden. 596 According to Cherkess customary law, when a joint-family decides to split into several units and consequently the common possessions must be divided, a portion must first be set aside as *kalym* for the unmarried sons.[3] Sometimes the joint-family cannot afford to "purchase" a wife and hence all relatives, near and distant, must contribute,[4] and, if it be necessary, also the entire *tleush* (*supra*, p. 55).[5] The burden is greatly eased by the possibility of paying the *kalym* in instalments.[6]

The amount to be paid has always been subject to great variations. Before a daughter is given in marriage, the amount of the bride wealth must be agreed upon by both families. Not only are the particular personal qualities of the prospective wife taken into account, as, for example, her virginity,[7] but especially the social standing of her family.[8] The higher the rank (and, as we have seen above, the ranks of the Cherkess are endless) the higher the bride wealth demanded. Thus at one time a maiden of the *uzden* class cost as much as Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200. One hundred years ago the price was somewhat lower: Rs. 500 for a maiden of the princely class and Rs. 300 for a widow; Rs. 350 for a maiden of the uzden class of the first order and Rs. 200 for a widow; Rs. 220 for a maiden of a lower *uzden* sub-class and Rs. 150 for a widow; Rs. 150 for a maiden of the free class and Rs. 100 for a widow. Dubrovin tells us that this payment went to the father, brother or paternal uncle of the bride, and if she had neither father, nor brother nor paternal uncle no *kalym* was necessary.[9] Sometimes slaves were used as payment.[10]

We have said nothing about the Abkhaz, for in essentials and even in many particulars they agree perfectly with the Cherkess. 601 In fact, the marriage and family *adats* of the Abkhaz and those of the Cherkess are so much alike that Ladyženskij regards the Abkhaz as a Cherkess tribe.[11]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As elsewhere in the Caucasus, the *kalym* in Ingushetia and Chechnia may consist of money, cattle, arms and

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[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 206.

[4] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140.

[5] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 234.

[6] Neumann, *Russland und die Tscherkessen* (1840), p. 117.

[7] "Adats of the Black See Line, Kuban and Terek Territories," Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 162.

[8] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 163—165. V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 90, sets the bride-price of the Termirgoi as follows: for an ordinary peasant girl Rs. 600; for a girl of noble birth Rs. 1, 500; for a princess Rs. 3,000.

[9] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140 f.

[10] *ibid.*

[11] We do not of course accept this faulty classification. The Abkhaz, Ubykhs, and Cherkess are *distinct* peoples.

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583 other objects.[12] Although the amount is much more stable than in other parts of Caucasia, it does vary according to the presence or absence of virginal integrity and on the social class of the mates.[13]

In the eighteenth century the Nakhchuo paid up to 10 cows;[14] the Ingushi would have to pay as many as 30 cows.[15] In the 1860's the average *kalym* was about 18 cows (or if paid in money, Rs. 10 per cow).[16] In the twentieth century the *kalym* was so high that the Russian Military Government forced all young men to swear that they would never take or give more than Rs. 105 *kalym*, but, as Baddeley, who is averse to all exaggeration, assures us that " none kept the oath, and the amount was now greater than ever."[17] In 1920 the Ingushi of the Upper Uchaluk paid as much as one million Soviet rubles, 105 silver rubles, two horses, one cow and one ram as *kalym*.[18]

[585] In the Ingush *adat* collection of the 1860's (§§ 119 f) we read that the relatives of the groom are obliged to offer the bride a gift of 25 silver rubles on the occasion of her betrothal, of which she becomes the full owner and administrator. On her wedding day she must also be given a guarantee amounting to 80 silver rubles in case of divorce or widowhood.[19] This *adat* is an innovation which owes its origin to Islamism and the Russian Military Government. Although at first it was received with very little favour (and even today we still can come across cases which may be classified under strict purchase), this new form of bride wealth gradually prevailed throughout Ingushetia and Chechnia.[20] In a word, the Chechen bride-price has for about a century at least been tending to evolve into a form of dowry, an evolution analgous to that found among the Abkhaz and Cherkess.

[614] It is the obligation of the *taipan* (sib) to provide the necessary *kalym* for all male members, if necessary even by theft.[21]

The following table shows the average bride-price of about an hundred years ago.

TABLE 10

583 587

Average bride-price among the Chechens about A.D. 1850

District	Amount		Source
	For maiden	For widow	
Nazran	12 cows	21 cows; sometimes only 12	Leontovič, II, p. 117, §§ 9 f.

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[12] Cf. "Collection of *Adats* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 161.

[13] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 162—165.

[14] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[15] *ibid.*

[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt etc.," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20, *note.*

[17] *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, I, pp. 207 f. See also Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 132.

[18] N. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53, *note* 1

[19] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 119.

[20] Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53.

[21] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53.

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District	Amount		Source
	For maiden	For widow	
Kists	18 cows	12 cows	Leontovič, II, p. 118, §§ 18 f.
Dzherakh *	30 cows	20 cows	Leontovič, II, p. 116, §§ 1 f.
Sunsha *	10 cows		Leontovič, II, p. 123, § 1.
Ingushi **	18 cows		Grabovskij, op. cit., p. 20.

* The adat collection actually speaks of rubles and not cows; the approximate value in cows is based on Grabovskij's estimate, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
** In 1864.

Before we pass on to the Lesghian group we wish to mention an interesting 588 form of *kalym*, parallels to which can be found in various parts of the world.[22] (171) We refer to the practice of marrying two deceased persons. Toward the end of the 18th century Potocki observed that " if one Ingush lost a son and another an unmarried daughter, the father of the deceased girl would approach the family of the deceased son and say, ' Your son most likely still doesn't have a wife; I'll give him my daughter, who passed away some time ago, provided that you give me so and so many cows as kalym.' In such a case the father of the dead boy will never refuse."[23] The *kalym* is in such cases generally lower than usual.[24]

When speaking of the Lesghians we must keep in mind that we are dealing 583 with a group strongly influenced by Islamic law, much more so than the rest of the Caucasians. (585) We must also remember that there are local and temporal variations to be taken into account. There are four distinct financial transactions connected with Lesghian marriages: (1) genuine bride purchase, (2) symbolic bride purchase, (3) gifts, (4) the *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce.

Many recent and older authors speak of a " very trivial bride price."[25] Abercromby, for example, reports that the *kalym* of the Avars was no more than two rubles and eighty kopeks.[26] Hahn claims to have found it as low as 25 kopeks.[27] Before Shamyl's time it was supposed to have been possible to " purchase " a wife for a trifle: at Ishal, for instance, for 36 quarts (12 *garncy*) of wheat; in Bahulal it was only one *sab* (about 20 pounds) of grain; in Untsukul it amounted to one ruble.[28] Despite the poverty of the mountaineers, the *kalym* is so insignificant that to classify it under " bride-price " would be incorrect. This is not a case of bride purchase at all, but rather a formality or symbol, which may be at most a *vestige* of actual marriage by purchase.

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[22] For the custom among the Chinese see Vanicelli, *La Familia Cinese*, pp. 393—403; among the Germans of the Volga see E. G. Kagarov, " Venčanie pokojnikov u nemcev Povolž'ja," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 106 ff. O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, 1904.

[23] Potocki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.

[24] B. Dalgat, " Die alte Religion der Tschetchenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 737.

[25] For instance, F. Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 178.

[26] *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 101. The " bride-price " was therefore only 5 s. 10 d., less than $ 1.00.

[27] Hahn, " Puteśestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93.

[28] A. Runovskij, " Kodeks Šamilja," *Voennyj Sbornik*, XXIII (1862), No. 2, p. 347.

583 [562] We do not wish to say that bride price in the strict sense of the word does not exist in Daghestan at all. The unfavourable position of the female sex in Botlikh is rightly attributed by Rossikov and Erckert to the fact that she is still considered as purchased property, as chattel.[29] The *iol-puli* of the North Tabassaranians was anything but trivial.[30] In the "Adat Collection of the South Daghestanian Districts" we learn that it varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 400, a maiden costing more than a widow.[31]

Even in localities where the *kalym* is so insignificant that it is actually only a symbol there are certain, and by no means trivial, expenses which must not be overlooked. First of all, there are not a few betrothal gifts (*infra*, pp. 102 f); then there are the relatively expensive marriage gifts, of which we shall speak below when describing the Lesghian wedding (*infra*, p. 119).

[586] There is, moreover, the so-called *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. Just because it is the bride who benefits from the *kebin*, it cannot be considered as a bride-price. It is a security for the bride in case of divorce and is usually determined by mutual agreement, depending, of course, on the economic and social position of the contracting families. A widow of the *uzden* class, for example, never received more than a guarantee of Rs. 55.[32] In the province of Kazikumukh (Lak) and Dargwa the *kebin* usually consists of a piece of land having a value of Rs. 50 to Rs. 200.[33] Among the Kapuchians it consisted of money, about Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, while among the Tabassaranians up to Rs. 40. In the Avar Province the *adats* do not fix a definite amount, leaving it entirely to the two families concerned.[34] In North Tabassaran the guarantee was usually between Rs. 15 and Rs. 40 for a maiden and Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 for a widow.[35] The [177] *kebin (mahr, kebin-khak, magar* as we sometimes find it in Russian literature) evidently owes its origin to Mohammedanism.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov speaking of the Khevsurian custom of about one hundred years ago informs us that the bride received no dowry but that a price always was insisted upon.[36] Similarly, the Pshav would marry his daughter only if he first received a satisfactory price for her.[37] It is [587] worth noting that the Ingiloi (the Georgians of Sakataly) had to pay a higher kalym for widows than for virgins, Rs. 75 and Rs. 50 respectively.[38] The reason for this regulation seems to be that the widow being older is more liable to be divorced and has less chance of re-marrying than a young girl, and therefore needs a higher *kebin*.

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[29] K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagorny Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 248. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 284.

[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[31] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[32] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenie, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64. For custom of the Avars see L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc."

[33] Confirmed by Kovalevskij's own field work. See his *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[34] *ibid.*

[35] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[36] "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 60.

Much has been written about the OSSETINE bride wealth, but no one has described it so well as Kovalevskij in his *Sovremennyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.* 583

Less than fifty years ago the expenses involved in a marriage were enormous. The families of the highest class in Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk had to pay as much as 100 oxen (worth about Rs. 1,000), one male slave or Rs. 120 and a coat of mail. In Kurtatinsk an equivalent number of cows could be substituted for oxen; a female slave or 12 oxen could be substituted for a male slave. The *farsaglegs* were valued at 60 cows or 30 oxen, whereas the *kavdassart kalym* was 25 to 38 cows. The Alaghirs never paid more than 38 oxen. An ox could be replaced by one cow and two sheep; a gun could replace six oxen; a sword, two or three oxen; a large chauldron for brewing beer, six oxen; a hearth chain, three cows.

Besides the *kalym* (or more correctly when speaking of the Ossetes, *irad*) the Mohammedan Ossetes are obliged to give a guarantee against divorce, the equivalent of the Lesghian *kebin*, called by the Ossetes *nakiash*.

Astounding is the number of gifts which the suitor's family was obliged [584] to offer to the relatives of the bride. There was the *fati-bash, i. e.*, a horse called "The Arrow Horse" because the consent of the bride's father and the whole matchmaking procedure moved as swiftly and directly as an arrow; the *fati-bash* was given to the bride's father while her mother received the *madi-bash*, ("The Mother's Horse"). Then there was the *amtsedzhi-bash* ("The Nurse's Horse") which actually went to her husband (cf. *supra*, the *atalyk*, p. 57). The *madi-arvadi-bash* or *madi-arvadai-kal* was a horse given to the nearest relative of the bride's mother, most commonly to her brother. The Digorians usually offered oxen instead of horses.[39]

The sib must not be forgotten either. Besides the bride-price the prospective [614] bride-groom had to give about Rs. 9 to the village, or, in other words, to the sib, for the Ossetine villages are generally composed of families related by blood. This payment was called *kauvendag* ("The Village Road").[40] Kovalevskij's figures differ but slightly from those of earlier ethnographers of the same century. Klaproth in his *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie* (1828)[41] informs us that the highest *kalym* among the Ossetine nobles was Rs. 1,000 (hence about 100 cows). Dubois de Montpéreux,[42] whose investigations were published about 10 years after those of Klaproth, places the bride-price at 140 cows and 7 horses as the maximum and 12 cows as the minimum. In 1859 the Russians enacted a law according to which one third of the *irad* was to go to the bride as social security in case her husband should die.[43] This attempt to put an end to what the Russians considered a great abuse served only to raise the *irad* considerably. In fact, it reached an exceptionally high point in 1877, when to marry a single son would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[44] Colonel Kondukov saw no way out: the *irad* had to be outlawed. In 1877 the Colonel promulgated a new law and then the following year the General Assembly confirmed it.[45] An attempt to eradicate such a deep-rooted institution by mere enactment of law is indeed always a futile attempt. A few years later the *irad* not only revived but was as high as ever. During his expedition in Ossetia Dirr could observe how the bride-price was skyrocketing higher and higher and nobody could forecast when its descent would begin. The situation became so alarming that there was only one way left for the Ossete to acquire a wife, and that was to kidnap her at the risk of his life and at the risk of an endless feud between the families.[46] As late as May 15, 1911, the inhabitants of Mizur, Sadon, Dagon, Arkhon and Nuzal had to sign a promise never to offer or accept a higher *irad* than Rs. 200 for a maiden and Rs. 100 for a widow.[47]

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[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 163 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 f.

[41] II, p. 249.

[42] *Voyage autour du Caucase*, IV, p. 449.

[43] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 17, *note 3*.

Passing over to the TURKIC peoples of the Caucasus, we find the *kalym* (especially the *kebin*) no less stringently insisted upon than among the true Caucasians. In the beginning of the twentieth century the *kalym* among the Nogai was about 30 cows, the equivalent of about Rs. 170,[48] and as usual less for a widow than for a maiden.[49] The Kumykian *kebin* consisted in a written promise that a certain amount of money would automatically pass over to the wife in case of divorce or death of her husband, but only if she had no children to support her.[50] Among the Mountain Tartars and Karachai the amount of the *kalym* depended mainly on the social class to which the prospective mates belonged. The *kalym* of the Karachai varied between Rs. 350 and Rs. 1,000 payable in money or cattle[51] and was usually supplied by the entire sib.[52]

2. Conclusions regarding Marriage by Purchase

Before we sum up our conclusions we wish to review some of the more important data contained in the present section.

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[44] By "ruining the family" we understand the joint-family, the "hearth" as the Ossetes express it.

[45] Kovalevski, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 161 f.

[46] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 122.

[47] *Tifliskyj Listok* of June 17, 1911, cited by Dirr, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[48] Jankó, "Néprajzi Gyüjtemény Leirása," in Zichy's *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[49] Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände Rußlands*, II, p. 372.

See N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," p. 72; "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 16; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 277, 638.

[50] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, p. 638, says that the *kebin* could be signed after marriage, usually being Rs. 750 for princely families and Rs. 100 for the nobility.

[51] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 211; Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, IX, p. 170; J. Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[52] U. Alijev, "The Karachai" (in Russian), cited by Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitsch. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 435.

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TABLE 11
Marriage by Purchase in the Caucasus

PEOPLES		Existence of bride-price		Amount of bride-price		Existence of kebin	Who provides the kalym?	Amount of kalym depends on social rank
		Formerly	Recently	Virgins High	Widows Less*			
Caucasians: North-west.	Abkhaz	+	+	+	+	+	Joint-family; Tleush	+
	Cherkess	+	+	+	+	+	Joint-family; Tleush	+
Caucasians: North-east.	Chechens	+	+	+	+	+	Taipan (sib)	+
	Lesghians	+	±	+	±	+	Tokhum (sib)	+
Caucasians: Southerners	Khevsurs	+	+	+				
	Pshavs	+	+	+				
	Tushi		−					
	Ingiloi				−			
Ossetes		+	+	+	+	+	Joint-family; sib	
Turks	Nogai	+		+	+	+		
	Kumyks	+	+	+	+	+		+
	Karachai	+	+	+	+	+	Sib	+

* Under "widows" we understand non-virgins, divorcées and widows.

(1) It seems that formerly all North Caucasian and neighbouring peoples bought and sold wives.

(2) In the last hundred years there has been throughout Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus a tendency for genuine bride purchase to disappear or

583 to assume the character of a dowry, as it had tended much earlier in Daghestan. A bitter struggle is going on between ancient *adats*, the *šarī'a*, and Russian laws.

(3) *Kalym* (even in recent times) is generally high.

[585] (4) Everywhere except among the Ingiloi and the Chechens of Nazran (*supra*, pp. 84, 86) the *kalym* and *kebin* are much higher for a virgin than a non-virgin. Virginity therefore is one of the most important factors in determining the amount of bride wealth.

[614] (5) Generally the family or a larger social group as the sib or *tleusn* provide the necessary bride wealth. The groom never has to amass the *kalym*
[581] himself, another fact clearly showing that mating is not a private affair.

(6) The *kebin* is found in all North Caucasia and Mohammedan neighbourhood.

[554] (7) Everywhere the social status of the partners is an important factor in determining the amount of *kalym* and *kebin*.[1]

The uniform evolution of the North Caucasian bride purchase is indeed striking. Originally all peoples of North Caucasus seem to have had actual bride purchase: the bride was actually sold and considered as a chattel. Then the bride-price began to lose its character of a purchase, a development contemporaneous with the spread of Islamism and Russian influence. Mohammedanism does not recognize bride purchase as such:[53] it recommends a bridal gift and prescribes the *kebin (mahr)* instead. The Russian Military Government in pre-Soviet times regarded bride purchase as a serious "abuse" and according to a decision of 1857 one third of the bride-price was to become the property of the bride as a form of social security.[54] Later the Soviet Government contributed its share in modifying the custom especially through industrialization, as we have seen is the case of the Cherkess living in the larger cities.[55]

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554 That social rank should play such an imporant part in determing the amount of bride wealth (whether bride price, gifts or *kebin*) is quite natural, universal and in full accord with Islamic law.[56] In fact, according to Mohammedan teaching, the *walî mujbir* loses his right to marry his daughter or granddaughter against her will if the bride wealth does not correspond to the girl's social rank.[57]

Nowhere in the Caucasus has bride purchase been considered as something humiliating or degrading. After all, even the Cherkess princesses were purchased. The bride wealth corresponded to the social status and therefore added dignity to the purchase. Moreover, the higher the price the greater the social respect for the family accruing from such a purchase. And as anywhere else in the world, only *good* brides were bought. The fact that a girl was purchased was a kind of flattery and even a definite proof of her good standing. The "price-tag" remained attached to her for the rest of her life, and in it she could find sufficient food for her vanity and self-complacency. 583 [554]

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[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The *mahr* is also called *ṣakâk* in Islamic law.

[54] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 124.

[55] *Supra*, p. 83.

[56] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[57] *ibid.*

[1] [i.e., bride-price and bride's security against divorce—Analyst]

Kebin occupies a middle position between an actual bride-price and a dowry. Like a dowry it aims at being a security for the bride's future, and like the dowry it is given to the *bride* and not to her family. On the other hand, it resembles the bride-price in as much as it is paid by the *groom's* family, it is accompanied with much bargaining, and, finally, the amount is determined according to the same standards as the bride-price.

We have said above that through the influence of Russian and Islamic law bride purchase has become more and more like a guarantee against divorce or security in case of widowhood. However, we did not wish to say that before the coming of Islamism or of the Russians there was no economic security given to the bride. A less developed and relatively small dowry or *kebin* could have existed in the Caucasus long before Islamic *mahr* "received full approbation from Allah." We know that, independently of Islamism, the position of the female sex was greatly improved by a dowry, e. g., among the Japanese, Chinese, Ancient Germans, Kelts, and Babylonians. The Romans and the Greeks regarded a marriage without a dowry practically as concubinage.[58] If it could exist among these peoples independently of Mohammed, it could have existed in the Caucasus independently of Islamism as well. In fact we find a kind of dowry in North Caucasus in the practical wedding gifts given to the bride by her family.[59] Of course, a large dowry is out of place in such a strongly exogamous society as we find in the greater part of North Caucasia, for the family property must remain within the family. On the other hand, from our description of the wedding customs we shall be able to observe the relatively important rôle these gifts play in the endogamous part of North Caucasus. [177]

In conclusion, it is worth noting that bride purchase in the strict sense of the word fits into the Caucasian economic form of life quite well. Though bride wealth is found equally in mother-right and father-right societies, bride purchase in the strict sense is an institution found almost exclusively in pastoral societies or in societies that have been greatly influenced by pastoral peoples, or that have passed through pastoral stages, such as we find in Africa, Asia, and Europe. We do not find the bride-*price* in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia or in America.[60] [171]

§ 2. BY CAPTURE

"Bride capture" is just as much a blanket term as "bride purchase." Here too we must distinguish between genuine bride capture and various forms

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[58] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 310.

[59] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30f.

[60] R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 218; Westermarck, *History of Marriage*, II (1925), pp. 278 ff.

583 of so-called capture. In the Caucasus we find four distinct forms: (1) involuntary (genuine) abduction, (2) planned abduction, which may be "planned" either by the lovers against the will of the fiancée's family (and this we may rightly identify with marriage by elopement), or (3) planned by the families of the bride and groom, (4) sham abduction, which is essentially a marriage ceremony.

In the present section by "capture" we understand involuntary abduction, against the will of the girl and her family. Planned abduction in accord with the will of the "stolen" bride's family needs no special extensive treatment and therefore will be considered briefly in the present section. Sham abduction will be treated among the other marriage ceremonies.

NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS.[61] Formerly marriage by capture was very common in Abkhazia.[62] Seidlitz calls it the *ordinary* means of acquiring a wife. To use his own words: "Vor fünfzehn Jahren noch raubte der Bräutigam sich gewöhnlich ein Mädchen zur Frau, indem er ohne Zustimmung der Eltern desselben und des Mädchens selber auf solches mit Hilfe seiner Altersgenossen einen Überfall machte, um es mit Gewalt zu sich zu entführen."[63] Today, of course, such cases are very rare. When they do occur, the lover generally believes that *post factum* the "bride" will be only too glad to remain with her ravisher.[64] Formerly the abductor was not persecuted if he could pay a sufficiently high bride-price.[65] Speaking of the Kabardians, Grabovskij assures us that genuine abduction occured very seldom among them,[66] while Dubrovin speaking of the Cherkess in general maintains that capture was a rather common means of acquiring a wife.[67]

The custom is found among the NORTHEASTERNERS as well[68]—in a word, among all North Caucasians. Numberless are the *adats* regarding the practice,[69] indicative of its importance in the life of the mountaineers.

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[61] Ladyženskij, FT, *p.* 197; J. Mourier, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 136, 141; Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v kabardinskom okrugě," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 36—42; N. S. Deržavin, "Iz oblasti Kavkazskoj etnografii," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), No. 2, p. 2; J. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[62] G. F. Čursin, *Očerki po etnologii Kavkaza*, Tiflis, 1913, pp. 146 f, cited by P. G. Akřitas, "Svadebnye obyčai abchazskich grekov," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 85.

[63] "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), No. 2, p. 40. Deržavin, *l. c.* Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 100 f.

[64] Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[65] Cf. K. Mačavriani, "Nektoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 65.

[66] *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[67] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 133.

[68] Chechens: cf. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 130, note; Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 21 f; Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 52 f; Berže, *Cečnja i Čečency*, p. 98. Lesghians: cf. L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 20 f; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 176 f.

[69] Cf. Leontovič, II, p. 118, § 18; II, 170 f, §§ 127—133; II, p. 174, §§ 155—159; II, p. 257, § 198; II, p. 121, § 1. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 9, 24 ff, 44 f, 48. ADO, pp. 20, 37, 64, 76 f, 90 f, 104 f, 117, 126.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. According to Eristov, about a century 583 ago, bride capture was almost an every day affair in Khevsuria. In 1855 he wrote: "Bride-stealing is very common among these primitive people. You are not regarded as brave unless you steal the girl you are fond of, and she must, of course, come from a good family. Such an action will infallibly cause terrible quarrels, murders and feuds."[70] The Pshavs formerly resorted to bride capture too, but only rarely.[71] Dubrovin believes, however, that abduction occured frequently among the Pshavs and Tushi,[72] while Hahn claims the same in regard to the Ingiloi.[73]

For some reason or other, the collections of OSSETINE *adats* claim that abduction has either been always foreign and unknown in Ossetia or that it has disappeared leaving not a trace behind. Kovalevskij rightly criticizes Leontovič's collection, for even during Kovalevkij's time one could come across occasional instances of genuine bride-stealing.[74] Other explorers of the late 19th and early 20th century (e. g., Karginov, Baddeley, Pfaf, Šanaev) leave no doubt about the existence of actual kidnapping in Ossetia.[75] Finally, if bride-stealing were [584] unknown in Ossetia, why would special legislation against bride-stealing be necessary as late as 1911? The inhabitants of Mizur, Sadon, Dagom, Arkhon and Nuzal had to promise not to kidnap or cooperate in abducting women, under the penalty of Rs. 300, not including the bride-price which the offended family had the right to set as high as they wished.[76]

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[70] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Seidlitz "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Ausland*, (1891), No. 16, p. 328.

[71] S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 102.

[72] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 310.

[73] "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 60.

[74] *Coutume contemp.*, p. 167.

[75] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1913), pp. 209 f.
Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 75, 265; II, p. 124.

V. Pfaf, "Narodnoe pravo osetin," Sbornik Svědenij o Kavkazě, I (1871).

D. Šanaev, "Svad'ba u sěvernych Osetin," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[76] *Tifliskij Listok*, July 17, 1911, cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 115.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

Marriage

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TABLE 12

Lesghian Adats Regarding Abduction

Province (Okrug)	District (Obščestvo) or other division	Penalties for abducting an											Penalties for coöperating with abductor		Number of Foot note	Sources†
		unmarried woman (girl, divorcée, or widow)					engaged woman		married woman							
		Death penalty	Banishment	Bloodwite	Marriage		Usual penalties	Additional penalty	Death penalty	Banishment	Blood wite	"No case on record" §	By harbouring abductor	By coöp. in actual capture		
					Obligatory for abductor*	If father of bride consents‡										
Avar			+	+		+	+		+			—			(1)	L'vov. p. 21
Gunib				+		+	+		+			—			(1)	L'vov, p. 21
Andi		+				+	+		+			—				Baddeley, II, 88
Lak		+				+	+		+			—				Kovalevskij, Zakon II, 176 f. Omarov, p. 21.
Kurin	Mahal Urdzhamul						+	+			+	—			(2)	AJuDO, 48
Kaitago-Tabassaran	Mahal Karakaitag			+		+	+	+							(3)	AJuDO, 44
	North Tabassaran			+		+		+							(4)	AJuDO, 24
Dargwa	Mikakhi											+	One ox	Various Penalties	(5)	ADO, 50
	Tsudakhar	+					+		+			—	One Ox		(6)	ADO, 116 f.
	Akusha			+		+	+					+	One Ox		(7)	ADO, 37
	Mugn	—	+				+						One ox (Rs. 4)	One ox	(8)	ADO, 63 f.
	Sirgua			+		+						+		Rs. 3	(9)	ADO, 77
	Hyuraki		+	+		+	+					+	One ox (Rs.8)	One ox	(10)	ADO, 90 f.
	Usisha	+		+		+						+	Rs. 3	Rs. 3		ADO, 104 f.

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* The open spaces simply mean that the particular *adat* is silent.

‡ "If the father consents" in the last analysis means whether the abductor is able to afford the *kalym*, or, as the case may be, the *kebin*.

§ The *adat* collections expressly use the term, "no such case on record".
In any case, abduction of married women is extremely rare in such districts.
"Fines" as in all cases of cooperation are paid to the *dzhamat*, i. e., the community; "bloodwite" on the other hand goes to the offended sib.

† Abbreviations used: L'vov: N. L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—32.
Baddeley: *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*
Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—46; IV (1870), pp. 1—24.
ADJuDO: "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875).
ADO, "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873).

(1) If the family refuses to give their daughter to the abductor, he is banished for three months, must pay a fine of 100 sheep to the khan (or Rs. 30), one head of cattle to the community. When he returns from banishment he must treat the girl's sib to a feast (Cf. L'vov, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f).

If a married woman is abducted, the abductor becomes a blood-enemy just as in murder, but the period during which vengeance may be taken is shorter (L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Mere touch, chase, or suspicious approach may be punished like actual abduction. (*ibid*).

(2) By "engaged woman" we mean here as elsewhere "engaged to a person other than the abductor." The engaged man, however, does not have any greater rights over his fiancée than he has over an unengaged girl. To abduct the girl with whom he is betrothed is punishable just as any other case of abduction. If someone captures a girl engaged to another man, the Kurin *adat* demands a double payment of all engagement expenses incurred by the offended lover plus Rs. 60, which he must pay to the lover; besides this he must pay Rs. 200 to the girl's father. If the woman happened to be married, Rs. 60 go to the offended husband and Rs. 300 maximum to her father.

(3) Besides paying usual *kalym*, the abductor is obliged to give the father of the girl a sum of Rs. 300 on demand. The father need not consent to a marriage with his abducted daughter. If the abducted woman is engaged to another man, the ravisher is obliged to give the offended lover twice the sum the latter spent by reason of his engagement.

(4) If the abductor wishes to marry her, he must make an agreement regarding the *kebin* and the father of the girl may demand as reparation as much as Rs. 600. If the girl was engaged to another man, the girl's family must return all engagement gifts to the offended lover, who may take blood-vengeance on the abductor.

(5) The *adat* does not mention any special bloodwite: four oxen, however, must be given to the community as a fine, and the family of the abducted has a right to a feast at the expense of the ravisher. Cooperators never become blood-enemies.

(6) The offended family is compensated by payment of such things as wheat. A fine also must be paid to the community.

(7) If the abductor receives the consent of the girl's family to marry her, he must pay a fine of seven oxen to the community, give the girl's family Rs. 100 (only Rs. 50 if a widow or divorcée), and Rs. 100 to the girl (Rs. 50 if widow or divorcée).

(8) No blood-enmity is incurred; a fine of Rs. 12 must be paid to the community; the abductor is banished till reconciled by payment of Rs. 8 to the family and Rs. 12 to the community. For each visit to his village during the period of banishment he is fined one ox worth Rs. 8.

(9) If the abductor receives permission to marry the abducted, he must pay fine of Rs. 3 to community and give an ox and three *sabs* of wheat to her family.

(10) The banishment lasts 40 days. If the girl's parents refuse to give her in marriage to the abductor, he must allow her to return and must pay a fine of two oxen. He must give special compensation to her family if they consent. Cf. ADO, p. 90.

583 The TURKS of Caucasia have recourse to bride-stealing just as often as the other peoples of Caucasia.[77] In fact, formerly the Tartars considered bride-stealing as something praiseworthy. A young man, who would capture his beloved at the risk of his life and perhaps in so doing murder a brother or the father of the girl, would be envied by all his companions.[78]

Hence, kidnapping girls, widows and divorcées with the intention of keeping them as wives is, or at least, has been, a universal custom in the Caucasus. We intentionally enumerate "girls, widows and divorcées" because capture of married women against their will seems always to have been very exceptional. To mention only a few examples—according to the *adat* collections, no such case seems to have ever occured in the District of Usisha[79] or in the District of Hyuraki.[80] Elopement, of course, occurs more frequently.

Before we pass on to the section on marriage by elopement, we wish to say a word about "bride-capture" planned by the families of the bride and groom. This is simply an unorthodox way of marrying off a daughter in order to avoid the long procedure of matchmaking and betrothal[81] or to avoid the enormous expenses of an ordinary engagement.[82]

§ 3. BY ELOPEMENT

1. General Statement

That a change from abduction to elopement, as the general practice, has taken place in Abkhazia cannot be denied. That Seidlitz, being the head of the special statistics committee in the Caucasus, was in a position to be very well-acquainted with such matters as bride capture and "planned capture" cannot be denied either. We do beg to differ, however, in regard to the *suddeness* of this change. According to Seidlitz, in 1880 actual kidnapping of wives is supposed to have been the ordinary form of acquiring a mate; in 1894 this general practice is supposed to have been substituted by "planned capture." It is not the change that we deny but its *suddeness*. Fifteen years[83] would hardly be sufficient to put an end to such a general practice. It may very well be that Seidlitz is judging by official decisions of Russian courts. It is quite true that if a girl is asked whether she was captured against her will or not, she will infallibly claim that she even had begged her lover to "kidnap" her. Her witnesses will confirm her statement regardless of the truth or falsehood asserted, for we have here a typical case of a *casus perplexus* which not only the Abkhaz but all the mountaineers must frequently face: if the girl and her witnesses tell the truth, the Russian (Soviet as well as pre-Soviet) court will declare the marriage null and void; but not to marry the ravisher *post factum* and after the kidnapper has had sexual intercourse with her and has offered sufficient *kalym*, would according to customary law be a disgrace to the entire family and an evident sign of ill-breeding.[84] In other words, practically every case brought before the North Caucasian courts has been declared as elopement, and it is perhaps this fact that Seidlitz overlooked. Today, of course, whenever a case of abduction is reported among the NORTHWESTERNERS we may rightly presume that it is merely another case of elopement.[85]

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[77] Balkarians: N. A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkaze," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.
Kumyks and Nogai: "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), pp. 15 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 277; Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyč. Kumykov," p. 77.
Kurds: J. Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[78] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 364.

[79] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 105, *note*.

[80] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 91. *note*.

[81] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 197.

[82] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingušskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[83] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

The adat collections of NORTHEASTERN CAUCASUS make a sharp distinction between actual and planned capture, clearly showing that both forms occurred among them.

In SOUTH CAUCASUS both forms were also known, for example, to the Pshavs; but today, as anywhere else, elopement is frequent while actual abduction is very rare.[86]

2. Problems regarding Marriage by Capture and Elopement

If we compare the more reliable, older reports with those of more recent times, a definite change is noticeable throughout the Caucasus from frequent capture by force to "capture" by mutual consent. In explaining the disappearance of the former and the rapid growth of the latter, we must keep in mind especially what we have said about the bride's freedom of choice. Formerly the preference of the Caucasian girl was hardly considered, and she, on her part, took it for granted that it just *had* to be so. Thanks especially to Islamism and Russian legislation, the family, so to speak, became more and more conscious that girls too had preferences which ought to be respected, and the family began to consider her wishes more and more, so much so that the girl herself not only became fully aware of her preferences but also that she had a will of her own, a will that could oppose the sacred *patria potestas* and then be defended by an authority above that of the father. If she noticed that she was in danger of being married off to a man she did not love or if she felt greatly attracted to a certain young man, she would under the guise of the old custom of actual bride capture allow herself to be "kidnapped." She would send a message to her lover—a few words would suffice—"Steal me" and her lover would be only too glad to do so.[87] The formality of mutual consent in marriage required by Islamic law (*supra*, pp. 78 f), even though it was a mere formality, and the insistance of the Russian Military Courts as well as those

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[84] Cf. A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 338 ff.

[85] Ladyženskij, *FT*, p. 197.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 102.

[87] Cf. Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

583 of the Soviet Government on perfect freedom in mating, certainly contributed, especially psychologically, to the change from frequent marriage by capture to elopement.

An important problem, which perhaps will remain a problem for some time to come, is that regarding the origin of Caucasian marriage by capture. At least negatively we can unhesitatingly affirm that abduction is not a survival of *the* original form of marriage.[88] It seems rather to be the most logical result of marriage by purchase. The origin of the practice is more easily explained by high *kalym* rather than primitive "savagery." The main occasion for kidnapping a wife, formerly as well as in recent times, has always been the inability of the groom's family to amass the enormous bride wealth demanded.[89] The refusal of the girl's family to give her in marriage to her lover is often occasion for bride capture or elopement; but the ultimate reason for the refusal is almost always an economic one. When a sib or family cannot afford [581] the required *kalym*, the only means of acquiring a wife is to capture her. To remain unmarried is as unthinkable as the extinction of a family. When the *kalym* is too high, the lover, accompanied by his friends, organizes an attack, kidnaps the girl he loves, and generally deflowers her on the very first occasion. Even if afterwards the abducted girl be allowed to return to her family (and sometimes the *adats* insist on her return), she no longer can expect to find another husband. Her choice is therefore between remaining unmarried all her life or to be the wife of her capturer. Once the girl has been abducted, the young man has the girl's family, so to speak, at his mercy. To borrow Baddeley's words, "With the mountaineers the accomplished fact meant much. Once bedded, though not yet wedded, the quarrel, till then deadly, became, as a rule, mere matter for adjustment—mainly financial adjustment."[90] Her family realize that the girl has lost her economic value and that now, after all, the best thing to do is to let her ravisher have his way. To marry her off to another man would disgrace the family. The capturer has the upper hand and can set the *kalym* more or less according to his limited means.[91]

We do not deny the possibility of other motives for bride capture. We can very well imagine how an Ingush "dare-devil" might organize a raid and kidnap a girl just to prove his mettle.[92] We can also very well imagine how a romantic Kabardian might kidnap his beloved just to add a bit of zest and charm to courtship. But such motives are extremely rare and insignificant compared to the inability to pay the *kalym* demanded.

583 Although bride capture and elopement are general, as general as high *kalym*
683 and poverty, nowhere in the Caucasus are they regarded as a legitimate means. The *adats* of all Caucasians classify marriage by capture and elopement as an offense equal to murder. They are an offense against the bride's relatives, living

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[88] Cf. J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 9 ff.

[89] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 125; Leontovič, II, p. 252, § 150; Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 52 f.

[90] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 224, *note*.

[91] Cf. Günther, *op. cit.*, pp. 331—340; N. F. Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," pp. 39, 41 f; Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 198; Leontovič, II, p. 118, § 18.

as well as departed, a degradation of her womanly dignity, a serious usurpation 583 of the inviolable *patria potestas.*[93] To borrow Baddeley's words again: "Woe [683] betide the gay lover should the fleetness of his horse fail to place between him and his pursuers the barrier of a black night . . . if caught in the first hot pursuit, the hero of the escapade paid for his love and daring with his life, the daggers of the vengers sheathed in his heart . . ."[94]

When a daughter elopes (runs away or is "captured") she too is in constant danger of being killed by her own family, till, of course, reconciliation takes place. Fortunately, everywhere among the mountain tribes the customary law [574] requires all to give shelter and protection to the "bride" and "groom," however in separate *saklias* (houses) or rooms.[95]

Besides seriously endangering his life, the capturer is obliged to pay certain additional fines, as is the case in the NORTHWEST, for example, among the Kabardians,[96] and in the NORTHEAST among the Lesghians[97] and Ingushi.[98] In Ingushetia the *adats* demand the liberation of the abducted woman and a fine of Rs. 50 from the abductor and Rs. 15 from all who cooperated with him.[99] On account of the many details and repetitions involved we present the Leshian *adats* in the form of a table (Table 12). The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have an additional penalty known as *banse shekhtoma,* i. e., reconciliation "by jumping on the roof," which consists in a special feast for the relatives and neighbours of the abducted woman, and a fine of a one- or two-year-old ox and a kettle.[100] The *adats* of the TURKIC peoples of the Caucasus likewise impose additional fines for abduction. The Kumykian and Nogaian *adats* demand full bloodwite as a condition for reconciliation.[101] If the bride refuses to remain with the kidnapper, she must be allowed to return, and, besides, he must give her the full *kebin-khak* (the usual guarantee given to the wife in case of divorce).[102]

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[92] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt etc.," p. 21.

[93] Cf. Dirr, FT, pp. 125 f; Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 f; Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i uglovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," p. 36.

[94] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 88 f.

[95] Dirr, FT, p. 126; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 50.

[96] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda etc." pp. 39, 41 f.

[97] See Table 12.

[98] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 127.

[99] *ibid.*

[100] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland* (1891), No. 16, p. 318.

[101] Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 77, § 12.

[102] "Adaty žitelej Kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), pp. 15 f.

Chapter VI

Premarital Arrangements

§ 1. DESCRIPTION OF MATCHMAKING AND BETROTHAL CUSTOMS

1. Description

584 NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Matchmaking among the Cherkess is, as a general rule, quite simple.

The premarital arrangements of *Christian* Cherkess has been described by Dubrovin as follows.[1] " Marriages are arranged by the parents of the prospective bride and groom.[2] If the young man's father is dead, his nearest relative sends as matchmakers two old men to the girl's father and two old women to her mother.[3] If the answer is in the affirmative, a date is set on which the young man's relatives must bring the usual engagement gifts and provide the food for a special engagement feast. The young man's family and other relatives come on the appointed day with some cloth and rings for the bride-to-be, who, however, is not present at her betrothal feast."

The *Mohammedan* betrothal is likewise very simple. The father of the young man (or a relative) visits the family of the prospective bride and enquires about the possibilities of a marriage between the two. If the answer is favourable, a representative of the bride and two witnesses are called. The girl's free consent is always insisted upon, but, as we have mentioned above (*supra*, p. 79), this is only a formality. The mullah is then notified, after which he recites a special betrothal prayer. The only negotiations that still must be made are those regarding the *kalym*, the day on which the special engagement feast is to take place, and, finally, the day of the wedding itself. The *kâdî* must register all engagements in his official books.[4]

And now, if we pass on to the *non-Christian and non-Mohammedan* communities we find the coustoms slightly different. A friend or relative of the young man offers a horse to the prospective bride's father, brother, or another member of the family. If the father of the girl consents to the marriage, he will accept the horse as a special engagement gift (*euzb*, as it is called).[5] After some time, the future groom must visit his future parents-in-law. Toward evening, the fire in the hearth is extinguished, and the future bride and groom must clasp hands as a concluding betrothal ceremony.[6] Only now do the negotiations regarding the *kalym* begin.[7] 584

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[1] This is a free translation of *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139 f.

[2] The Temirgoi marriages are arranged by representatives of both fathers, usually close relatives (Vasil'kov, " Očerk byta temirgoevcev," p. 89).

[3] Women never have a part to play in the arrangement of marriages among the Temirgoi (*ibid.*).

[4] Hahn, *Kaukasische Reise und Studien*, pp. 39 f ; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 341 f.

[5] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Instead of describing the customs of each Chechen tribe individually, we shall present the engagement customs of the most primitive of Chechen tribes, the Ingushi. The father of the suitor visits the family of the prospective bride personally.[8] Stereotyped procedure is the rule, and he is fully aware of this observance. At the first and second visit the girl's family is obliged by etiquette to make excuses, and by no means may a decision be reached. At the third visit the girl's father will utter his long awaited consent. The matchmakers may never visit the bride's father empty-handed. Usually they bring a ram to treat the family to a little dinner and to create a friendly atmosphere for the discussion regarding the marriage. If for some reason or other the marriage be considered undesireable, etiquette demands that an outright refusal be avoided ; instead, the girl's family must demand an excessive *kalym* or make other impossible stipulations. If the father of the girl has given his consent, a betrothal feast must be prepared,[9] on which occasion the suitor presents his future wife with an engagement gift of Rs. 10 and a silk cloth.[10] The local mullah is then called and a formal engagement contract is drawn before the usual two witnesses.[11] Two or three months later, the date of the marriage is agreed upon. Once the couple is officially engaged, the entire *taipan* becomes extremely interested in them, doing them all sorts of favours.

In Leontovič's *adat* collection we find another form of matchmaking. A brother is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and a friend who has "drunk to her health and offered her brother a gift." A failure to carry [628]
out this obligation will turn an intimate friend into the bitterest foe, and rightly so, says the *adat*, because such a neglect is a serious crime, a blood-offense, which necessarily calls for revenge no less than does murder.[12] This means of arranging a marriage is very rare and resorted to by the North Caucasians, especially the Ingushi, only after a refusal.[13] This *adat* is [604]
especially interesting because it overrules the sacred, inviolable *patria potestas* and so many other *adats* regarding choice of mates and engagement. This may very well be a vestige of a right formerly enjoyed by the maternal uncle.[14]

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[6] *ibid.*

[7] *ibid.* The engagement customs of the Abkhaz have been described quite fully by Seidlitz in his "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

[8] In Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria matchmakers arrange the marriage ("Sbornik adatov žitelej Nagornago Okruga, 1864 goda," Leontovič, II, p. 144, § 92).

[9] Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 50 f.

[10] Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 97.

[11] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingušskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[12] Leontovič, II, pp. 251, §§ 149, 151 ; Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 427.

[13] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 151.

[14] Cf. Kovalevskij, "La Famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

584 The Lesghian peoples can all boast of an elaborate engagement procedure. Were we to describe the ceremonies of each of the Lesghian peoples and tribes individually, we could easily fill a complete volume, but a volume with countless repetitions. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves again to what we may call a *typical* Lesghian engagement. Allowing for accidental differences, it is the kind of matchmaking and betrothal one finds among all Lesghians. These ceremonies have been described especially well by Kovalevskij in his *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě*, L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," Gabiev, "Laki, ich prošloe i byt," and Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladičestva russkich na Kavkazě.*

A Lesghian engagement is a long, drawn-out affair, lasting for months or even years,[15] yes, even for a decade or two.[16]

The suitor usually takes the first step himself: he invites the father of his prospective bride to dinner and secretly tries to discover the father's attitude toward such a match.[17]

Soon after that, the hopeful suitor sends a matchmaker to the girl's father. The matchmaker is usually a woman[18] (sometimes the mother or sister of the groom), but sometimes a man is sent instead;[19] and sometimes two matchmakers are sent instead of one.[20] Matchmakers are soon recognized as such by their unusual eloquence and unexpected eulogies.[21] "There is a certain young man, with an incomparable character. He is brave beyond description. And, of course, he is well-to-do. He is a man of reliability. In a word, he possesses all the qualities any and every Lesghian values." Then follows the practical application: "What a blessing it would be if this young gentleman would (Allah granting) become the husband of such a wonderful girl as is your daughter. Can you think of a better match?" But no matter how eager the parents of the girl may be to give her in marriage to this particular "superman," etiquette demands that this part of the premarital arrangements end in excuses and objections: "Oh, you see, our daughter is still so young! And besides, how could we get along without her. You realize the decision is very difficult. Please, let us think the matter over."

Some time later, the girl's parents consent to the marriage, the usual formula being, "Insha-Allah", i. e., "If it please Allah; if Allah so will!"[22]

Now that the girl's parents, especially her father, have no objections to the marriage, the suitor's task is to become acceptable to the girl and her family, and without gifts such a task would be impossible.

584
431 The next part of courtship is called *suknikari.*[23] The matchmaker brings the girl a ring, some clothes, and money. The *suknikari* is a very important

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[15] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 181.

[17] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 41.

[18] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[19] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*; L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[20] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 31.

[21] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 562 f.

[22] L'vov, *l. c.*

[23] The first visit of the matchmakers was called *sukni* (in Dargwa).

event in every Lesghian's life, for if these gifts are accepted, the consent of the parents of the girl is considered final.[24] 584 431

The next step consists mainly in an exchange of gifts.

Some days later, the mother of the young man visits the girl's family, bringing with her four loaves of bread and a ram,[25] a large copper basin, clothing, one silver and one golden ring. On accepting the gifts the girl puts the rings on her fingers. This visit of the mother of the groom constitutes the essential part of the engagement: from this moment the two young people are considered engaged.[26] In return the bride's family give the future groom's mother two loaves of bread, a slaughtered ram, and some small coins.

In the near future the fiancée must pay a visit to her parents-in-law. The groom-to-be, however, must absent himself on this occasion. She again receives various gifts: cloth, rings, ear-rings, and a vessel.[27]

Several days later the young man, in turn, pays a visit to his fiancée's family. Now it is the girl's turn to be absent. A small feast is prepared, and the suitor presents the family with some cloth and a slaughtered ram.[28]

The exchange of gifts must continue, vessels, cloth, rams, money, and pastries being the usual gifts. The suitor generally selects holydays as most appropriate for his visits and bestowals. There is especially the *khinki arkhul* which consists of pastries, cloth, an eviscerated ram, six large loaves of bread, and a large cast-iron vessel not less than 16 pounds in weight. These gifts are brought to the fiancée by two male and two female relatives of the suitor. In return the girl sends her future husband some silk cloth and two belts, and a necklace for his sister.[29]

Some time before the wedding, various materials are brought to the future bride, such as hemp, which she must prepare for use in her future home. Two or three years later, she receives 30 or 40 sheep-skins or 9—10 rams. In return she offers some cloth and belts.

The final bestowal of engagement gifts takes place several months later when two men and two women betake themselves to the bride-to-be, this time with one live and one slaughtered sheep, six large loaves of bread, three pieces of clothing of which one is silk, and, finally, a piece of cloth.

The last act of the engagement drama takes place shortly before the wedding. Three to ten relatives of the future bridegroom go to the family of the young lady, where they prepare the *khalba* and for this purpose they bring six pounds of butter and one measure of flour, while the girl's relatives provide [527] other food. This feast is held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, or Thursdays and usually lasts a day or two. On this occasion two reliable persons representing the future groom and two others representing the bride-to-be conclude a formal written contract regarding the *kebin.*[30]

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[24] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 181 f.

[25] In Upper Kaitago (in Gank, Gansh, Myura) the groom's sister may come instead of his mother. AJuDO, p. 41.

[26] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 182: "Rěšajuščim aktom v dělě svatovstva javljaetsja vstuplenie materi ženicha v dom roditelej nevěsty s četyr'mja bol'šimi chlebami..."

[27] *ibid.*

[28] In some places the suitor's visit precedes that of the fiancée. Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 41.

[29] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Southwest of Daghestan is the province known as Sakataly. A brief description of the Ingiloi betrothal customs will give us a good idea of the entire country bordering Southwestern Daghestan. The matchmaking is carried out by a representative of the suitor and a near relative of the mother of the girl, who, after a preliminary discussion, informs the mother that, " a certain person sent me to you with a little request. He would like to marry your daughter. The young man is truly of a noble character and well-to-do. I advise you to give your consent." Just as among the Chechens and Lesghians, the matchmaker will not receive a favourable answer at once. Only at the third visit is a decision reached, provided that within a definite time the family of the suitor can furnish a piece of silk, a silver ring, a ram, 10 loaves of bread, two liters of nuts, 15 or more eggs, 3 measures of apples, and two pails of wine. On the appointed day the bride-groom's matchmaker and one of his relatives bring these things to the girl's family. When the groom's intermediary arrives, he announces, " All these things were sent by Mr. X to win the favour of your daughter. May God grant them both luck and health, and may He also grant the same to you." Then the ram, which was brought by the matchmaker, is slaughtered ; the cloth, ring, and money are received by the mother of the girl ; the ring is placed on the girl's finger, from which moment she is regarded as definitely engaged. Similar feasts and gifts must follow. It is worthy of note that it is the mother who receives the gifts, the father having pratically nothing to do in the whole engagement ceremony. A final visit, and then the day of the marriage is agreed upon.[31]

To arrange a marriage in Pshavia usually takes about two years. The first discussions between the two families are a mere formality, but a formality that is strictly insisted upon, as it is elsewhere among the mountain peoples of the Caucasus. When the girl's parents finally give their consent, the so-called *agreoba* takes place : that is, bread is broken, distributed among the bride's relatives, and then eaten together with salt as a sign of friendship and betrothal. From this moment the two young people are considered engaged,[32] and the suitor's family is obliged to offer the girl's relatives an engagement gift. About a hundred years ago, according to Eristov,[33] it amounted to one ruble twenty kopeks. Among the Khevsurs it was only 20 kopeks.[34] After some time the future groom is obliged to visit his fiancée's family, and he and his friends are given a feast, but first the visitor must offer the *sakhlis sanakhavi* (" the visitation of the house "), which includes bread, meat, and drinks. The following day a sheep is slaughtered and a second feast is given at which the husband- and wife-to-be are present. The elder of the village (*khevis-beri*)[a] presides and then recites the special engagement prayer: "Glory to you, George, Angel of the Oak, Lasharis-Dzhbari, and Queen Tamara! George, Angel of the Oak, bless this young couple! Make them happy, rich and prosperous!"[35] After this the *mkepari*[36] are chosen from among the relatives of both partners, whose task it is to collect gifts for the betrothed. The Pshavs do not give their daughters a special dowry, these gifts and the *satavno* taking its place.[37] From now on the suitor is allowed to pay his future wife frequent visits.[38] 584 [776] [431]

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[30] Dubrovin, I, i, p. 563.

[31] Cf. Fon-Plotto, " Priroda i ljudi Zakatal'skago Okruga," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 30 f.

[32] Cf. Makalatija, " Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 103 ff.

[33] The Tushi have the same custom (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 310).

"O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), pp. 111 f. According to Makalatija, *l. c.*, Rs. 5 to Rs. 15.

[34] Dubrovin, 310.

There is very little difference to be noted in the OSSETINE matchmaking and betrothal.[39] At first a good friend (generally a woman) of the young man's family is sent to the parents of the girl to learn, unnoticed if possible, about the possiblity of a marriage. If the "spy" returns with a favourable answer, two official matchmakers are sent, generally elderly friends of the family. All dealings are kept secret until the girl's father consents. The town-crier is then notified, for it is his duty and privilege to publicize all engagements. Then the matchmakers bring to the girl's family gifts and the *kalym*, and, as usual, the engagement is celebrated by a feast.[40] [624]

The engagement customs of the KUMYKS are about the same as those of the Chechens.[41] In Balkaria it is the agreement regarding the *kalym* that constitutes the essence of the betrothal.[42]

2. Conclusions regarding Matchmaking and Betrothal

(1) All North Caucasians and immediate neighbours have the custom of formal betrothal of one sort or another. (2) Nowhere is the marriage arrangement a private affair. The two persons concerned are either passive, or if they do act, they are simply cooperating in a family matter. (3) Official go-betweens are usually employed. (4) The initiative is taken among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples by the male side. (5) Although the mother plays a surprisingly important part in the engagement customs, the final decision rests with the father. 593 584

The premarital arrangements of the Caucasians have a strongly patriarchal character. It is the father who has the final word in matchmaking. Moreover,

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[35] Makalatija, *l. c.* The sacred oak referred to is supposed to be on Mount Lashari in the central part of Pshavia and is tied to heaven with a golden chain (Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

[36] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[37] Every girl, while still small, receives a calf as her own property. All the profit she makes by raising the calf becomes her property too.

[38] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[39] Dubrovin, I, i, pp. 329—332.

[40] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 40 f.

[41] For a fine description of Kumykian matchmaking and engagement see Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2 pp. 68—71; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 637.

A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkazě," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

[a] [in Pshavia, southern Caucasia -- Analyst]

584 the passivity of the couple reflects their submission to the *patria potestas* and
593 perfectly agrees with all we have said about the freedom of choice. The girl is usually more passive than the young man, a fact that corresponds to the greater privilege of the latter to choose his own mate. Although the Caucasian customs of matchmaking and engagement are strongly patriarchal in colouring, we do not wish to say that betrothal as such is a patriarchal trait. On the contrary, elaborate engagement ceremonies are found especially among matriarchal peoples.[43]

§ 2. PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM BETROTHAL

There are three distinct obligations that we must consider: (1) mutual avoidance especially in public, (2) mutual fidelity, (3) and the obligation of entering upon marriage with one's engaged partner.

1. Mutual Avoidance

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. An *adat* for the Black Sea-
584 Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories speaks of the strict obligation of the
834 betrothed to avoid one another in public. Should they accidently meet in the presence of others, they may not speak to one another; in fact, they are forbidden
[836] even to pass a glance at each other.[44] Of course, sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden and severelly punished (*infra*, pp. 168—179).

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia, as soon as the father of the girl gives his consent and the suitor's family has presented their future daughter-in-law with the prescribed engagement gift of ten silver rubles and a silk kerchief, the young man has the right to meet his beloved, but only in private. If another person is present, the bride-to-be must turn her back to her lover.[45] Betrothal, however, does not give the pair the right to sexual relations.[46] When speaking of the Lesghians[47] we must distinguish between three distinct classes of *adats* regarding mutual avoidance: (1) sometimes the engaged couple is strictly forbidden to meet, be it in public or private (if they do meet, it is done stealthily), (2) among some Lesghian peoples they are permitted to meet
[836] at the girl's house, (3) among the Tsunta-Akhvakh the *adats* permit engaged couples even to sleep together (*infra*, p. 181 f).

The *adats* of some of the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASUS strictly forbid engaged couples ever to meet in public or in private. It may happen that the couple does not become acquainted with one another till their wedding day.[48] 584 In Khevsuria the girl used to move into the house of her future father-in-law 834 before her marriage, and there she would take part in the family work for three to fourteen days, but all this time she was not allowed to associate with anyone [591] except the female members of the family. After that she returned to her own household and lived there for two weeks at least (sometimes two or three years), during which time she was not allowed to meet her lover. In fact, he was even forbidden to enter her village.[49] In Pshavia, as we have seen above (p. 105), the engaged couple is allowed to meet frequently.

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[43] Thurnwald, "Verlöbnis," Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, XIV, p. 133.

[44] Leontovič, II, p. 257, 194. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 429: "Posle sgovora ženich iměet pravo vidat'sja tajno s' svoej nevěstoj; no pri postoronnich ljudjach priličie trebuet ne tol'ko ne govorit' meždu soboju, no i ne smotret' drug na druga."

[45] Berže, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

[46] *Infra*, pp. 169—176.

[47] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f; Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 16 ff; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564.

The obligation of mutual avoidance is also observed by the neighbouring OSSETES.[50]

In this regard the neighbouring TARTARS do not differ either. The Kumyk may visit his future wife only privately and is strictly forbidden to speak to her in the presence of others.[51] The Karachai suitor is forbidden to speak not only with his beloved but also with his future parents-in-law.[52]

2. Mutual Fidelity

The *adats* of the North Caucasians do not tell us whether the obligation [837] is bilateral or not. The female partner, of course, is strictly bound to fidelity as will be clear from our exposition of the proof of virginity demanded of the bride on her wedding night (*infra*, p. 124) and from Chapter XII on sexual violations.

3. The Obligation of Entering upon Marriage

Islamic law gives both parties the right to dissolve the engagement at will.[53] 584 It will be interesting to find out whether in this particular case the *adats* are observed or the *šari'a*.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The "Collection of adats for the Black Sea-Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 195) informs us that "the man has a right to break his engagement at will; and, at the request of his fiancée or her relatives, he may permit the girl to withdraw her promises."[54] This adat clearly shows that the obligation is unilateral. "The girl [or her family] may not break the engagement without her fiancé's consent."[54]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The following table will give us a good idea of the Chechen *adats*.

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[48] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[49] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 216.

[50] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333 ; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[51] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[52] Byhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 f.

[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 196.

TABLE 13

Obligation of Betrothed to Enter upon Marriage among the Chechens

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Tribe	Right to dissolve engagement enjoyed by		What happens to bride wealth and engagement gifts after betrothal promises are withdrawn?	Sources
	Suitor	Fiancée		
Ingushi	Yes	No	If bride [or her family] break the engagement, the bride wealth must be returned to the suitor.	Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 122
Salati	No*	No	If suitor [or his family] break the engagement, the girl may retain all gifts.	Leontovič, II, p. 145, § 97
Ichkerians	Yes	No	Whether male or female side break the engagement, engagement gifts must be returned to the suitor.	Leontovič, II, p. 145, § 96
Aukh	Yes	No	If suitor [or his family] break the engagement, the gifts must be returned; if the girl breaks the engagement, the *kalym* and gifts received must be returned in double value.	Leontovič, II, p. 144, § 95

* The *adat* collection says that the suitor *may* break the engagement, but since he is obliged to forfeit the engagement gifts, we prefer to say he does *not* have the right to dissolve an engagement. The general rule throughout Chechnia and Ingushetia is that the young man may dissolve the engagement at will without any loss, while the girl or her family may not, without the consent of the male side. Cf. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 98.

There is very little data available regarding the Lesghian practice. In some places the general Islamic norm is followed. Elsewhere, e. g. in the District of Usisha (Province of Dargwa), neither party has the right to call off the marriage. If the man refuses to marry because his fiancée has been unfaithful (or for some other legal grounds), she must return all that she has received from him by reason of their engagements. If, on the other hand, the male partner is at fault, the girl has a right to withdraw her promises and retain all betrothal gifts.[55] In Kaitago-Tabassaran, if the girl or her family prevent the marriage from taking place, they must return twice the value of the bride wealth received; if the man is not willing to marry, he forfeits the bride wealth and gifts.[56]

The customary laws of the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS recognize two forms of betrothal: (1) the *tsindoba (tsindva,* or *datsindva*), which consists in a promise to marry, made before witnesses; (2) the *nishnoba* or *nishnismitana* (literally, "giving a sign"), i. e., symbolic act or ceremony in which the future husband gives his future spouse an engagement gift as a pledge that he will marry her. Seidlitz,[57] Eristov,[58] (writing of the Khevsurs and Pshavs respectively), and King Vakhtang's Code seem to imply that the fiancée alone is bound by the promise to enter upon marriage. In any case, there is no doubt that her obligation is, by far, more binding than that of her lover. In Pshavia the engaged girl whose lover dies before marriage is obliged to move into her deceased fiancé's house and live there for a year before she may marry another man.[59] 584

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[55] This *adat* would seem to imply that both partners are equally obliged to remain faithful.

[56] "Adats for North Tabassaran," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32; Adats for Mahal Karakaitag and for Upper Kaitag: SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 41, 46.

With the OSSETES, on the contrary, the suitor does not enjoy more right to dissolve the betrothal promises than the girl. He may refuse to marry only if he discovers an essential defect, such as sickness and loss of virginity,[60] which she failed to manifest before the betrothal. [836

Among the TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus, the Nogai and Kumyks, the obligation of marrying is bilateral. If the male partner refuses to marry, the girl and her family may retain the bride wealth received from him so far. Moreover, he is obliged to make restitution for all the *damna emergentia*. If the female partner refuses to marry, everything received from her lover must be restored to him. If she has been deflowered by him, he must marry her. Of course, if he so wish, he may divorce her immediately after the marriage and bear the usual expenses connected with a divorce (*kebin*).[61] [586

TABLE 14

Obligations Arising from Engagements

People	Mutual Avoidance	Fidelity		Marriage	
		Suitor	Fiancée	Suitor	Fiancée
Abkhaz	+		+	−	+
Cherkess	+		+	−	+
Chechens	+		+	−	+
Lesghians	+ −		+	+ −	+ −
Georgians	+		+	−	+
Ossetes	+ −		+	+	+
Nogai			+	+	+
Kumyks	+		+	+	+
Karachai	+		+		

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[57] "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, XVI (1891), p. 319.

[58] *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[59] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[60] Kovalevskij, Coutume contemp., pp. 193 f.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p .16. Cf. Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 638.

1/n [Sio--Analyst]

584 It is worthy of note that most North Caucasian *adats* permit the suitor to dissolve the engagement, whereas the neighbouring Turkish peoples and the Ossetes do not. It would seem that those who permit the *male* partner to withdraw his promise at will stress the unilateral aspect of a betrothal; that is, the only one that incurs expenses is the suitor (or to be more exact, his family). If, then, the expenses are one-sided, the privileges and the obligations ought to be one-sided. Those who do not permit either partner to break the engagement seem to stress the bilateral aspect of a betrothal, namely, as soon as a girl is engaged she gives up all possibilities of marrying another man, perhaps even a better choice than the person to whom she is actually engaged. Moreover, this *mutual* obligation expresses the eagerness of the girl's family to secure a marriage for her before she becomes too old, when she would either have to remain a spinster or be sold at a lower price.

That the suitor actually acquires rights in the strictest sense of the word through betrothal is made very clear in the numerous *adats* which distinguish between an abduction of an engaged and a non-engaged girl, the former being considered a qualified crime. He enjoys the right of vengeance just as much as does the abducted girl's family.[62]

[581] Finally, the fact that the Pshav girl must live with her would-be father-in-law after the death of her suitor confirms our repeated assertion that marriage is a *family* affair: the wife is acquired primarily for the good of the family.

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[62] See the various *adat* collections in the section on bride-stealing.
Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, p. 129.

Chapter VII

The Wedding

§ 1. DESCRIPTION

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The finest descriptions of the Abkhazian wedding, to my mind, are those of Deržavin and Seidlitz.[1] Unless indicated, our data have been taken from the latter author. 585

On the appointed day the bridegroom and his attendants hasten to the home of the bride, and after having extended them a hearty welcome, her father solemnly hands her over to the groom. A procession is formed, which then proceeds towards the bride's new home. The Abkhazian bridal song, "Bedniera" ("Happiness"), and continuous pistol salutes fill the air as the horsemen suddenly break into a wild gallop and begin their famous Caucasian *dzhigirt* (riding stunts). [524]

As soon as the wedding procession nears the groom's house, one of the riders gallops ahead. A pistol salute lets all know that the bride is near.

As soon as she reaches the house, an immense round loaf of millet bread is tossed over her head three times, then broken, and eaten by all present.

A bridal arch is formed at the doorway of the house by two men with crossed swords. On the threshold she is given some sugar and honey with the words "May God grant you a tongue as sweet as sugar and honey."[2]

She then crosses the threshold and receives a dish of *ghomi* (millet) and an egg. What the significance of this ceremony may be we are not told. She is then led thrice round the hearth, scattering grains of millet in all directions.

The bride then sits down and a little boy is brought to her. She takes him [842] on her lap, in order that she too may, before long, have the happiness of becoming the mother of a boy.[3]

After this ceremony she is taken to the *ambara* (little house or hut).

On the following day visitors arrive to become acquainted with the bride[4] and to offer her various gifts. An attendant is always at her side to introduce the guests as they come. The veil is lifted from her face as she stands before the visitor motionless, with downcast eyes, and not uttering a single word. If

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[1] N. C. Deržavin, "Iz oblasti kavkazskoj etnografii. Svad'ba v Abchazii," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), No. 2, pp. 1—10. N. von Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), No. 3, pp. 40 f. See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, ii, pp. 49 ff.

[2] It is most likely the mother of the household who invites the bride to cross the threshold, a custom found also among other peoples of North Caucasus.

[3] Cf. *infra*, p. 205.

[4] Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

585 the guests have any questions, it is her girl-companion that must answer. The bride may at the most nod in affirmation.

She remains in her " hermitage " for some months before she is finally permitted to live with the rest of the household.[5]

The following description is chiefly that of the main Cherkess tribe, the Kabardians.

The *kalym* has been paid and the day of the wedding agreed upon. The [278] relatives of the bridegroom begin the necessary wedding preparations. The odour of steaming beer and of the finest dainties creates a distinctive atmosphere, peculiar to a Kabardian wedding. On the eve of the marriage a group of men gallop through the *aul* inviting relatives to a preparatory feast, on the occasion of which a collection is taken to cover some of the expenses of the coming wedding, e. g., purchase of a veil for the bride, chartering of a bridal wagon.

On the following day young men fully-armed gather at the house of the groom and noisely gallop off to the bride's house. The bridegroom, however, [608] does not go with them but " hides " at his best-man's house.[6] By doing so he becomes temporarily an adopted son *(kan)* of the latter's sib. A young companion called *shatso-kot* must always be at his side to protect him.

When the riders (or to be more exact, the bridal procession) reach the bride's house, her attendant, whom the riders brought along, is taken to the women's quarters, while the rest, after having feasted and danced till late into the night, are given lodging either in the house of the bride or of one of the neighbours.

Immediately after breakfast on the following day, the unusual hustle peculiar to a Cherkess wedding is observed outside the bride's house. The horses [493] are being harnessed, the bride's belongings are being packed carefully but hurriedly into a trunk and put on the specially decorated bridal wagon. The bride [292] herself is inside the house, being attired in her finest clothes. From her hair hangs a long white ribbon reaching to the ground. She is veiled, or rather, wrapped in a large white shawl. Her wedding dress differs but slightly from the ordinary Cherkess dress, except that it is made of more costly material. She is assisted on to the wagon and takes her place next to her ever-faithful girl-585 attendant. As soon as the bridal procession begins to move, the young men of 526 the *aul*, all on horseback, try to snatch the caps away from the guests and thus begin the usual bridal horseraces. When the more " dignified " part of the procession enters the village of the groom, a wedding song is sung. By this time the racers have rested a bit and are ready to break into another wild chase. They again snatch one another's caps, throwing them on the ground, and as the rider gallops past one of the caps, he tries his skill at shooting a hole through it.

The bride is then taken by two women into the women's quarters, whilst outside the cracks of pistols and guns continue. The bride slowly sits down on a specially prepared bench, covered with a carpet. All eyes are fixed on her as a girl-friend of hers has the honour of removing the shawl.

While the riders outside are enjoying their beer, the youth of the village armed with long poles occupy a place difficult for the horsemen to pass. The riders charge wildly, slashing their whips in all directions against their attackers whose task it is to prevent the horsemen form entering the house. The battle continues till the riders finally manage to jump over the fence or to break it down and thus force their way into the house. The " defenders of the bride " throw away their poles and begin dancing with the girls of the village. At noon they all enter the house to congratulate the parents of the groom. Dances commence again and last until midnight. 585 [526]

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[5] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f; Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[6] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 40.

All this time, as we have already mentioned, the groom is absent, temporarily adopted by a neighbouring sib and guarded day and night by his *shatso-kot*. When the groom retires, the *shatso-kot* must spend the night in the yard protecting the bridegroom against any intruder. Never may he abandon his post. During the day it is his strict obligation to entertain the groom and this he usually does by horseback riding, away from the village. In the evening the two are joined by other companions. Toward midnight all leave except of course the *shatso-kot*, who must now accompany the groom to his bride.[7] [608]

The first three nights, as a part of the wedding ceremony, the groom must undo the bride's stays.[8] Her corset is a broad red leather belt, which is sewed tightly about her waist and is never removed till the wedding night. According to Pallas, the corset was donned when she was 10 or 12 years old,[9] while other explorers claim that the corset was sewed on soon after the bride was born.[10] In any case, she may never take the corset off : it must remain untouched till it bursts and then it must immediately be replaced by another. The husband alone has the right to undo it, on the wedding night. The corset renders the waist very small in proportion to the shoulders, the purpose being to prevent the growth of the breasts, an essential requirement for Cherkess beauty.[11] In some places at least, the custom of wearing such stays has been recently discarded.[12] [292] [836]

Pallas and Ellis in their reports dating from the 18th century claim that the corset is " cut with a dagger, a custom sometimes productive of very fatal accidents."[13] Today untieing and not cutting the stays is the orthodox ceremony with the Cherkess[14] and the Ossetes. To cut them would subject the groom to endless ridicule.[15] Since the custom of *cutting* was " productive of very fatal accidents " we can easily understand why the pratice has been given up. Sometimes the bride's girl-friends maliciously tie a large number of very difficult knots, so that the temptation to make use of the dagger is not slight. On the first three nights the bride is not allowed to say a word to her husband.[16]

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[7] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 40—44. For a description of a wedding among the Temirgoi see Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—101.

[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[9] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs etc.*, I, pp. 380 f.

[10] Ellis, *Memoir of a map etc.*, p. 24.

[11] Pallas, *l. c.*; Ellis, *l. c.*; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 127. Prof. D. Wölfel has called my attention to a similar practice in Tyrol.

[12] For example, Ladyženskij could not find the practice in Kamenomostki Aul in 1927, FT, p. 191.

[13] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381 ; Ellis, *l. c.*

[14] C. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[15] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

[16] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

585 The Cherkess formerly had a very important ceremony, which however seems no longer to be observed, the virginity test.[17] Formerly if the bride were found to have lost her virginity before her wedding, she would be returned to her father, who would mercilessly mutilate, sell or even kill her.[18]

[591] A week later the so-called *unaishe* (i. e., " introducing the young wife into the household ") takes place. Up to this time she had to live in her own quarters, but from now on she is considered a full-fledged member of the family. In the midst of much shouting and shooting, songs and cheers, the young wife
[592] is led into the house by two women. She is wrapped in a shawl and wears tiny stilts attached to the soles of her shoes, which make her look unusually tall. She enters, stands shyly against the wall and then waits for someone to remove her shawl. Thereupon a woman places with her finger a sweet liquid called *urtsetl* into the mouth of the bride in order that her life in the new household may be ever as sweet as *urtsetl*.[19]

Only women were present in the house when the bride entered. They now all take a drink of beer from a large common vessel, then sing and finally break into a dance till wedding songs are heard from outside. This is a sign for the bride to come out, and as soon as she crosses the threshold, a boy standing on the roof, lets down a shower of confetti, nuts and tiny pasteries.

The bride then retires to her room, while the guests feast, drink and dance.

Some days later a ceremony called " Reconciliation " takes place. The bride's girl-friends take part in dances at the home of the groom while the young men join the bridegroom in his hiding place, where drinking is preferred
[608] to dancing. The groom then makes a little speech, thanking his " foster-father " for his kindness, and in return for all the courtesies shown him during his " adoption," he offers him an ox or a horse. The groom has been " hiding " all this time, and now he feels that it is about time for him to seek " reconciliation " with his family. In the meantime a sheep has been slaughtered and beer has been prepared for a feast when the " prodigal son " returns. A special cup of beer sweetened with honey and a little " snack " are waiting for him on a small side-table. All eyes are riveted on the son who " ran away " from home. The young ladies are bunched together in a corner of the room ; the old men are likewise huddled against one of the walls ; the parents of the groom and an honoured guest, an old man, stand in another corner of the room, while the bride with her girl-friends stands in the doorway. Suddenly the loud voice of the honoured guest calls all to attention. " Dear son," he cries, " you think that you have offended us, but you are mistaken. On the contrary, you have caused us indescribable joy ! Come take this drink as a reward ! Come, son, drink it and let us forget about the past." The groom rises and slowly approaches the old man, accepts the beer and hands it to his attendant. Thereupon he steps outside of the house where he drinks the beer and together with his companions partakes of the " snack." After a while he retires, while his companions and guests continue their feasting and dancing till morning.

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[17] Cf. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184.

[18] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[19] *Urtsetl* is made of sheep's fat or butter mixed with honey.

The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning 585 an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate [493] a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special "Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her.

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called [524] *shinak-gagerös* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") [273] take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening, when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing, ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion [533] the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and [534] composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the guests answer with a joyful "Amen !," confirming their "So be it !" with a sip of beer.[21]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the hand, he first asks the representative of the bride : "Do you take A as husband for B ?" The answer is a simple "Yes !" He then asks the representative of the groom : "Do you take B as wife for A ?" "Yes !" This interrogation is repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen !"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals. Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen [182] marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing, however, we must make allowance for tribal differences.

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[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

585 however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. The Ingush wedding has been described especially well by Jakovlev.[25]

There is excitement in the village,[26] and the whole atmosphere is festive. Before one of the Ingush houses a crowd is gathering, the riders towering above all. There is reason for this excitement and festivity, for a son is being married. Inside the house, too, there is excitement—but perhaps we should call it [278] "activity" instead. A sheep is being slaughtered, *braga* is being brewed, cakes are being baked. But in spite of all this hustle, there seems to be time and reason enough to interrupt all work—just for a moment—the butcher, the brewer, the baker, one and all, go to the door and gaze a moment at the crowd as it begins to form into a semi-orderly wedding procession. At the head we see the proud father of the groom, and behind him his male relatives and some girls. Even billy-goats and rams are there (gifts for the bride's family)—all are there except the groom. He and one of his comrades disappeared several days ago and have not been heard of since. (The bride vanished from her home too, but by now she has most likely returned.) The bridegroom is no doubt "hiding" with a neighbour. The whole village is excited—everybody, we are told, except the groom, for etiquette demands that he act as unconcerned as if marriage were an everyday affair.

Men on horseback, men, women, and noisy children on creaky carts or on foot, wend their way down the dusty village road. When they reach the bride's house her father dashes out in front of the procession and with beaming face [584] welcomes all heartily. The *pandir* (a native three-stringed instrument) begins a joyful wedding tune and all join in the customary marriage songs. Formerly the girls would form into two contending choirs, the friends of the groom against [522] the friends of the bride, alternately singing songs and trying to out-ridicule the other,[27] a veritable battle of tongues and voices.

[526] Singing, dancing, and feasting, continue till evening, when the procession is formed again (but this time not without the bride). The horsemen now gallop off and begin their wild, dangerous wedding races.[28]

As soon as the procession reaches the groom's house, the bride enters the *saklia* and receives some honey and butter, coyly listening to the words "Be thou ever soft as butter and ever sweet as honey."

After this little ceremony she is led behind a curtain where she must remain for the next few days, entertained only by a number of girl-companions.

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the simple Islamic rite. The mullah, as usual, presides, while the parents of the bride and groom make the contract.

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[25] Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, pp. 52—56.
See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 430—435.

[26] A year or two may elapse after the betrothal, the time of marriage depending mainly on how soon the *kalym* can be paid. Cf. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98.

[27] For texts of wedding songs see Jakovlev, *l. c.*

[28] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21. Horseraces play an important part in funerals throughout the Caucasus. See R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1936, pp. 414—495.

Feasting, dancing and singing continue for the next two or three days. The guests are especially fond of their version of the *Lesghinka.*[29]

The newly-weds may not see each other till toward the close of the festivities. Finally the clapping of hoofs, cracks of pistols, and deep manly voices announce the return of the groom from his " hiding " place. He enters the bridal chamber, where his wife is waiting for him. The heart of a sheep, daintily roasted, lies hidden somewhere in the room. The groom or the bride begins to search for it and when found it is eaten by both. This little ceremony is to ensure marital concord.[30]

Jakovlev fails to mention two ceremonies which older authors include as important parts of a Chechen wedding. First of all, there is the custom of placing a child on the bride's lap with the wish that she too may before long give birth to a boy and become the mother of many children. Then there is the custom of walking round the hearth three times, a custom found among the Cherkess, Abkhaz, Ossetes, and the Ingushi,[31] but, as it seems, not among the other Chechens.

After the wedding the father of the bridegroom receives various gifts from the guests, sometimes enough to cover the expenses of the wedding.[32]

When speaking of the Lesghian group we shall not describe the customs of each people separately, but, as we have done in the section on engagements, we shall endeavour to present what may be called a *typical* Lesghian wedding. We shall borrow much from Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* (II, pp. 185—188), a description based on two reliable sources, L'vov and Bašir Dalgat, a native Caucasian. Though L'vov's article[33] is easily available, Dalgat's precious manuscript is not, and hence our recourse to Kovalevskij is mainly to get at Dalgat's valuable material. These two sources describe the Avarian and Dargwa marriage customs, but as Kovalevskij rightly points out, the description, except for a few accidentals, holds for *all* Lesghians. Other good articles on the present subject, which we shall use to complement Kovalevskij's two sources, are those of Gabiev, describing the wedding customs of the Laks,[34] of G. M. Amirov, describing the customs in North Daghestan,[35] of Fon-Plotto describing the Lesghians of Sakataly,[36] of Dubrovin describing the

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[29] The *Lesghinka* is a popular Caucasian dance, which originated, as its name implies, in Daghestan, and then was borrowed by all mountain tribes of the Caucasus, each tribe, of course, adding an original touch to the dance.

[30] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[31] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 433.

[32] These contributions are perhaps of a relatively recent origin, as a result of Russian legislation against costly weddings.

The explorers are silent about the presence or absence of a proof of virginity. Even though the practice perhaps does not exist today, the possibility of its former existence cannot be denied, especially since the Ingush customs are very similar to those of the Ossetes.

[33] " Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—32.

[34] " Laki, ich prošloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), pp. 109 f.

[35] " Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 31 f.

[36] " Priroda i ljudi Zakatal'skago Okruga," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 31—44. Though the marriage Fon-Plotto describes is really that of the Georgian Ingiloi, according to the author's own observation, it is identical with that of all non-Georgians in Sakataly.

585 customs of Lesghians in general,[37] and, finally, Halil Beg Mussayassul's description in his *Das Land der letzten Ritter*.[38]

The wedding day has finally arrived and all acquaintances and relatives have been invited. The young people begin to assemble at the groom's house quite early in the morning, while the older people do not make their appearence till the arrival of the bride. After feasting and dancing has begun at the groom's house, two men and two women—usually relatives of the groom—are commissioned to bring the bride to her new home.[39] In the Province of Kazikumukh usually 10 to 15 persons of each sex are sent;[40] in Sakataly, four to twelve.[41] In a similar manner, the bride chooses four persons from among her relatives, two uncles, called *varkhhkani* ("fellow-travellers") and two aunts, called *kakurtsanti* ("they who lead the bride by the hand").[42] The procession, or the delegation, as the case may be, proceeds to the house where the bride is staying at the time. (In Avaria, she is at one of her relative's, whereas in Dargwa and Kazikumukh Province, she is always at home.[43]) On arriving, the delegation solemnly extend to the bride a triple invitation to join them.[44]

After the guests have been entertained, the bridal procession begins to move slowly in the direction of the groom's house. Some boys are at the head of the procession carrying lighted torches, for generally the procession does not begin before dusk. Other children, noisier than ever, carry the bride's wedding gifts (usually kitchen utensils).[45] During the whole procession the two aunts are constantly at the bride's side, living up to their name *kakvurtsanti*, "they who lead the bride by the hand."[46]

Though dressed in beautiful silk, the bride must not be too particular about keeping her wedding gown spotless, an impossible task indeed. When the procession passes under a window, a handful of flour is poured on her,[47] a custom which, according to Dalgat's manuscript, signifies "luck as pure as the flour that is poured on the bride."[48]

Almost at every bend of the road, or wherever the road narrows down, there is a crowd of village urchins and young people who obstruct the way and will not permit the procession to continue till they receive some of their favourite [273] *buza*[49] and dainties.[50]

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[37] *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 566—573.

[38] Munich, 1936, pp. 169—175.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 185.

[40] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[41] Fon-Plotto, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

[42] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*, Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, calls them *kakvurtsanti*, *kak* meaning "hand" and *vutsis meaning* "to hold."

[43] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[44] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 185 f.

[45] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Gabiev, *l. c.*

[46] Amirov, *l. c.* Kovalevskij, *l. c.* In Sakataly, according to Kovalevskij's own observation, the bride rides on a horse led by the bride's maternal uncle (Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186).

[47] Amirov, *l. c.* Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[48] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[49] *Buza* is a kind of beer: millet is brewed and allowed to ferment, after which ~~none~~, is added.

[50] Amirov, *l. c.*; Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

As soon as the procession reaches the bridegroom's house, his mother takes 585
a plate of honey and smears some on the bride's lips and extends her an official invitation to enter.[51] The honey symbolizes the readiness of the mother-in-law to offer the bride any and every gift, but especially the greatest gift of all, entrance into the household.[52] A pleasant and sweet life awaits her in such friendly surroundings.

Now an ox (or any other head of large cattle)[53] is led before the bride. The ear of the animal is then cut as a sign that from now on it belongs to the bride alone.[54] If the bride stands motionless in the doorway, everyone understands that the bride is still not satisfied and therefore a second animal must be brought before her and its ear must be cut in a similar manner. Sometimes a horse is presented to her instead of two oxen, in which case a clump of hair is cut off the horse's tail, leaving the ear intact.[55] On accepting these gifts, the bride is congratulated, welcomed, honoured with songs and pistol shots, and is then solemnly led across the threshold of the *saklia* by her mother-in-law. Sometimes, as the bride steps over the threshold, the bridegroom, standing behind the door, gives his wife three slight strokes[56] symbolizing his authority over her.[57]

The programme now calls for a tug of war between the villagers and the 583
members of the groom's household. A carpet (the one the bride stepped on when 585
crossing the threshold) is placed between the two groups, everyone taking as [524]
good a hold of it as possible and then pulling with all his strength, the villagers
pulling away from the house and the others toward it. This is, doubtless, a form
of ceremonial bride capture. The winners receive a special delicasy^1 called *airisa*, [262]
a mixture of flour, butter and honey, as well as their favourite drink *buza*, while
the losers must be satisfied with the drink.[58]

There are two other forms of ceremonial bride capture, found among other Lesghians. In Dido-land the friends of the groom "break" into the bride's house, throw a sheep-skin over her head, and drag her into the street, where the villagers throw filth at her till she reaches her new home. The Andi of T'indi are supposed to have had the following custom: the bride riding on a horse, accompanied by men and women armed with torches and long poles, rides toward the groom who is similarly guarded. When the two groups meet, a mock battle is declared. The parties must try to extinguish each other's torches. In

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[51] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov omits this ceremony.

[52] This is Kovalevskij's interpretation. Unfortunately our sources fail to mention whether the mother-in-law accompanies her action with words as in the case of other North Caucasians or not.

[53] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, who mentions the possibility of presenting a horse instead of two oxen.

[54] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*; Amirov, *l. c.*

[55] Amirov, *l. c.*

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186.

[57] Amirov's and Kovalevskij's interpretation.

[58] Amirov, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

1 [Sic—Analyst]

585 [585] the meantime the bride is handed over to the female relatives of the groom, who bring her to her new home.[59]

Honey is given to the bride a second time, symbolizing the sweetness of married life that one and all wish her.

[606] The bride then sits down on a special bridal chair, and a kettle is placed at her feet as a sign of her subjection to the mother of the household.[60]

The custom of thrice walking round the hearth, the custom that plays such an important role in the Abkhaz, Cherkess, Ossete, and Ingush marriage,[61] is found also among the Lesghians, but, as it seems, only by way of exception. Kovalevskij found it only in one *aul* near the Georgian border.[62]

Toward midnight, when the banqueting has finished, a brother of the bride is given the honour of unveiling her face, her head remaining veiled till she enters the bridal chamber. For this privilege her brother is obliged to bestow a special gift on her.[63, 64]

She now steps into the bridal chamber, while the young people crowd in after her. Whoever succeeds in being the first to throw himself on the bed receives some pastries as prize. This ceremony is called *vurui varis*, that is, "trampling on the bed."[65]

As soon as the groom enters, all leave the room and while the newly-weds are alone, feasting and merry-making continue till morning.[66]

In some parts of Daghestan, as for example in Samur Province, two relatives stand guard at the door of the bridal chamber. On the following day the *testimonium castitatis*, a cloth or a bed sheet, is given to the guards[67] or, in some places, the young husband fires his gun. However, a pistol shot does not always have the same meaning. In Dargwa Province (in the shamkhalate of Tsrk and in the khanate of Mekhtali) it signifies that the bride's hymen has been found perforated;[68] in Sakataly it has the very opposite signification.[69] If the bride is found unchaste, the husband may dismiss her at once, on her very wedding day, retaining all her gifts and dowry. Formerly her angry father would cut off her nose or arm and even kill her.[70]

The wedding may last for another week.[71]

On the seventh day a feast is prepared for an exclusive group of male relatives, on which occasion the groom's father reveals what gift he intends to bestow on his newly married son. (The women relatives hold their own feast.)

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[59] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, pp. 191 f.

[60] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187.

[61] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[63] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[64] The Laks call it *lyazbinkukn* (Kovalevskij, *l. c.*).

[65] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov calls it *burush-vachis*: *burush* meaning "bad" and *vachis* meaning "trample on."

[66] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 571.

[67] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 72.

[68] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174.

[69] *ibid.* See also Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 187 f; Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[70] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.

[71] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

Some time later, usually not over a month, the relatives of the groom are 585 invited by the bride's family to dinner. One of the guests—we may still speak of wedding guests, for the wedding celebration is not yet over—calls out to the bride's father: "What will the father of our bride offer her?" On this occasion he must determine what portion of land he intends for his daughter. In Dargwa the minimum dowry is $^1/_8$ of a desyatnik, but he usually gives her other things as well, a cow, a buffalo and other cattle.[72]

The bride on her part presents the guests with some souvenirs—belts for male relatives and handkerchiefs for her female relatives.[73]

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the Mussulman rite before the mullah and witnesses.[74]

The Lesghian marriage usually does not take place immediately after the engagement but months and sometimes even years later.[75] The marriage season for maidens is autumn, whereas widows may marry at any time.[76]

Marriages of widows and widowers take place without solemnities of [587] any kind.[77]

TABLE 15

Major Wedding Customs of Northern Caucasians Found Also Among the Southerners

Customs*	Tribe**	Source
Procession terminates in *groom's* house	Khevsurs	Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
	Pshavs	Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 310.
	Ingiloi	Fon-Plotto, op. cit., pp. 31—34.
Ceremonial bride capture	Khevsurs	Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 153; Nansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f; Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.
Mother-in-law gives honey to bride (and groom)	Pshavs	S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 105.
Walking thrice around hearth; best-man strikes chain with dagger	Khevsurs	Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 311.
	Pshavs	*ibid*; Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
Proof of virginity	Ingiloi	Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174.
Formal (religious) contract	Khevsurs	Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.
	Tushi	Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 311.
	Pshavs	Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

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[72] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 188. [73] *ibid.*

[74] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestana," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[75] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22. [76] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[77] *ibid.*

585 * See also T. Mtavriev, "Prostonarodnaja svad'ba v Kachetii," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 3, pp. 154—160.

For Gurian customs: N. Deržavin, Svad'ba u Gurijcev-Musul'man v okrestnostjach Batuma," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 168—176.

For Pšhav customs see: Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105—109.

** The tribes in this column are intended merely to serve as *examples*. We do not wish to imply that the particular custom is not found anywhere else except among the tribes indicated.

The OSSETINE wedding customs are quite interesting and have been fully described by such authors as Kovalevskij,[78] Baddeley,[79] Hahn,[80] Šanaev,[81] and Gatiev.[82] Without going into detail we shall indicate briefly the similarity between the Ossetine wedding and that of the neighbouring North Caucasians.

(1) The *procession* terminates at the home of the groom. The bride is led by her groomsman (*anshuargin*) and a special female attendant (*dzbinarkin-made*).[83]

(2) The formal contract is made in church before their priests in Christian parts of Ossetia,[84] and according to Islamic ritual among the Mohammedans. Both Christian and Mohammedan marriages may take place in the shade of certain holy trees.[85]

[583] (3) Dramatization of bride-stealing.[86]

(4) The bride and groom are not allowed to meet during the marriage festivities: the bride must remain in her room, attended to by a number of girl-friends, while the groom is living with the best-man.[87]

● [606] (5) Submission to the mother-in-law. In the evening the bride is led to the hearth, where she must first bow to the *avsin* (mother of the household) and then smear some fat on the *avsin's* shoes as a sign of submission.[88]

585 842 (6) A child is placed on her lap, as a wish of her friends that she may give birth to many children, especially boys.[89] She is taken to a shrine of Mairem.

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[78] Kovalevskij, *Sovremmenyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.*

[79] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*

[80] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 41 ff.

[81] Šanaev, "Svad'ba u severnych Osetin," ("A Wedding among the North Ossetes"), SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[82] Gatiev, "Sueverija i predrazudki u Osetin," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 18—21. See also: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 334—337; "Koe-čto o Digorcach," *Kavkaz* (1887), No. 339 f.

[83] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[85] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[86] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, 168 f.

[87] Šanaev, *op. cit.*, p. 27, *note 13.* Cf. also N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 336.

[88] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Požidaev, Gorcy severnago Kavkaza, p. 106.

[89] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 185.

The village children accompany her and then throw stones at the shrine, crying, "So many boys (as these missiles) and one blue-eyed girl grant thou, Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman must then repeat this prayer.[90]

(7) The Ossetes also have the corset-ceremony (*supra*, p. 113). The groom must *untie* the knots and not cut them.[91]

(8) The best-man takes the bride by the hand and walks round the fire-place three times, each time striking the chain with his sword.[92]

(9) The mother-in-law gives the bride some honey.[93]

(10) Feasting lasts two full days and longer. The wedding is elaborate and expensive.[94]

(11) The proof of virginity is rigorously insisted upon.[95]

(12) The bride receives gifts from her own father and guests.[96]

(13) The groomsman drives evil spirits away by holding a club over the bride's head.[97]

And now, a word about the neighbouring TURKS. The Kumykian marriage hardly differs from that of the Lesghians.[98] The dramatization of bride capture is found, for example, among the Karachai[99] and Nogal;[100] the fire-place ceremony is found as far south as the Kurds;[101] some Tartars have the custom of placing a boy on the bride's lap.[102]

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[90] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158. See *infra*, p. 205.
E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86.

[91] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270. Older writers speak of *cutting* the knots, e. g., Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 250.

[92] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 49, 170 f; Gatiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 325.

[93] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[94] Leontovič, II, pp. 51, § 18, *note 4*. The military government tried to limit the number of guests from 120 to 15. Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 113.

[95] Klaproth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 249.

[96] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 198 f.

[97] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[98] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[99] Jankó, *Néprajzi* etc. *Zichy's Kaukazusi és középazsiai utazasai*, p. 44.

[100] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 278 f. In Balkaria the best-man enters the bride's home to fetch the bride, but as soon as he enters the house the women present defend the bride by trying to cut the best-man's cherkesska (Caucasian outer garment), see N. A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkazě," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

[101] Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[102] Mir-Galim-bek-Vezirov, Něskolko svěděnij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, p. 11.
For a full description of a Kumykian wedding see: N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev, Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 71 ff.
For Nogai wedding see: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 277 ff.
For wedding of the Turkomans see: A. A. Volodin, "Truchmenskaja step i truchmeny," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, pp. 45—49.

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[583]
[326]
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[842]

TABLE 16

Marriage Ceremonies of N. Caucasians And Neighbours

Marriage Ceremonies	Procession			Dramatization of capture	Horse-racing	Both sibs (families) present	Groom absent for large part of wedding	Segregation of bride during wedding	Bride's submission to husband	Wedding elaborate, expensive with much feasting & dancing	Mother-in-law †			Corset ceremony	Proof of Virginity	Child placed on bride's lap	Special wishes for boys	Fire-place ceremony	Gifts to bride from own sib	"Tramping on bed" ceremony	Sword placed over bride's head	Special attendant for groom	Special attendant for bride	Mother plays important rôle	Maternal uncle important rôle	Formal religious contract	Reconciliation ceremony	Predominant Character of Ceremonies
	From groom's house to bride	Return with bride to groom's house	Groom is absent								Invites bride to cross threshold	Offers bride some honey	Bride's submission to															
Abkhaz	+	+	−		+	+		+		+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	−	+		+	−	−	+		Pastoral
Cherkess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	Pastoral
Ingushi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+			?	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	+		Pastoral
Other Chechens	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+				+	+	?	+	−		+	+	−	−	+		Pastoral
Avars	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+			?	+	+		+	+	+	−	+		Pastoral + Agrarian
Dargwa	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+			?	+	+		+	+	+	−	+		Pastoral + Agrarian
Other Lesghians	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+				+	+		+	+	+	−	+		Pastoral + Agrarian
Khevsurs	+	+		+		+									+			+		−				+	−	+		Pastoral + Agrarian
Pshavs *	+	+	−			+				+	+	+			+		+	+	+	−		+	+	+	−	+		Pastoral + Agrarian
Tushi												+													+	+		
Ingiloi	+	+													+									+	−			
Ossetes	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+		Pastoral
Karachai				+																								

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* Cf. Makalatija. "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105.

† It is usually the mother-in-law.

§ 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

Though the wedding ceremonies just described are not without a few traces 585
of a mother-right culture, the wedding as a whole is doubtless typically patriarchal in character.

(1) The wedding procession clearly shows that the marriage is patrilocal, 591
a fact true of all North Caucasian as well as neighbouring tribes. The bride must move into the house of her father-in-law.

(2) The fact that the bride is humiliated before her mother-in-law (not 606
father-in-law), the fact that she is invited into the household by the mother- 592
in-law (not father-in-law), and that it is the mother-in-law (not father-in-law) who places the honey into the mouth of the bride, though very suspiciously matriarchal, is reconcilable with a strictly patriarchal society. Even in a strictly patriarchal society the mother of the household enjoys certain privileges and is looked upon as the mistress of the house with special authority over the female members of the household. In other words, in these seemingly matriarchal ceremonies the mother-in-law may perhaps be simply excercising a right of the mother of the household of a typical patriarchal family.[103]

(3) The dramatization of bride capture is a very common custom among 583
the pastoral peoples throughout the world.

Ceremonial bride capture must not be considered as a survival of actual marriage by capture. This is especially true of the Caucasians because a wedding always means a great economic loss for the bride's family—one of their workers must leave them and go over to another sib. Ceremonial bride capture expresses rather the opposition to such an heavy loss. The Dido, as we have seen, actually throw mud and filth at the bride after she has been "stolen". If the ceremony were to represent actual abduction, why should the bride be so "mistreated"? The reason why filth is thrown at her is that she has turned "traitor" to her own family.

(4) The ceremony of hiding, veiling of the face, the bride's taciturnity— 834
all these little peculiarities of the Caucasian wedding may be an expression of the bride's natural sense of modesty. Till now she had to avoid, at least in public, the slightest communication with her financé. The strict separation of engaged couples, the prohibition even to pass a glance at one's future mate in public, and the death penalty imposed on the girl for pre-marital intercourse—all this is in full accord with the high esteem of pastoral peoples for the physical
integrity of virgins. At the wedding, the bride is being publicly introduced [831]
into a relationship which she has been taught to shun as disgraceful, even punishable by death. Now this once "disgraceful" thing is being done publicly! The bride's resistence, her fleeing, her veiling, her taciturnity, then, are expressions of a reaction against "the great change,"[104] from maidenhood to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

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[103] For the relatively important rôle of a mother of a household in a patriarchal society see E. Pčelina, "Obrjad gostepriimstva v Osetii," SE, (1932), No. 5—6, pp. 140—163, especially p. 156, note.

[104] "The great change," I think, has been coined by Elsie C. Person. See her "Holding back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVIII (1916), pp. 44 f.

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000 to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

585 (5) The virginity test, too, though not restricted to pastoral peoples,[105] is
[170] very characteristic of their culture. The North Caucasians, all with only the Chechens as possible exception,[106] still have, or at least have had, the virginity test as an essential part of the wedding. The marriage remained uncertain till the bride passed or failed this examination.

It would certainly be of great interest to discover the meaning of and motive behind this practice. There is, of course, no universal explanation for the custom. What motivated the Nigerian tribes to introduce the practice need not be identical with the motives of the Chinese of Kwangtong or of the tribes of Samoa, of the Sakalavas of Madagascar or of the Slavs.

585 To understand the Caucasian virginity test we must put aside our Western
836 notions regarding the value of the physical integrity of a bride and try to get behind the mind of the North Caucasian, behind the economic, social, and religious standards of the *Caucasians*.

Negatively stated, the virginity test of the Caucasians is in itself no proof of a high esteem for the *virtue* of chastity, for even if it can be proven that the loss of corporal integrity was caused by an accident, the value of the bride seems not to differ from the girl who lost it through actual illicit intercourse. Among the Akhvakh (Daghestanians) a guest or lover might do to a maiden what he wished provided that the hymen remained intact.[107]

[611] Since the perpetuation of the family property and especially of the family cult depends on legitimate male children, there will always be uncertainty about the fatherhood of the first male child if the hymen is found perforated before the consummation of marriage. The groom's family would be constantly haunted by the thought that a stranger (the first-born male child) may become the head of the family. In a word, the economic and religious importance of the first-born male child may have been responsible for the high esteem for virginity and for the necessity of a proof of virginity on the wedding night.[108]

This attitude toward the inviolateness of the maidenhead has been, no doubt, responsible for many other Caucasian observances. The *kalym*, for example, is much higher for a maiden than a widow or divorcée. This fact, in

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[105] For a large number of examples and bibliography see Briffault, *The Mothers*, III, pp. 333—345. See also Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, pp. 209 f.

[106] But even here we do not have a positive proof for the non-existence of the virginity test. Mere silence of older authors is *indicative* of the absence of the practice, but it certainly is no proof. The neighbouring Ossetes, Tartars and Mountain Georgians have the custom too.

[107] An accidental rupture of the hymen is much more frequent in the Caucasus than one might be inclined to believe. From early childhood the girl is obliged to do difficult work, to carry heavy loads, to climb and slide down steep, rocky slopes, covered with briers, etc., which might at any unexpected moment rob the girl of her most valued possession. Dubrovin, after referring to these possibilities, points out that frequent ritual washing, which begins quite early in life, can explain many a case too (*Istorija*, I, i, p. 572). For the practice of the Akhvakh, see *infra*, pp. 181 f.

[108] A similar explanation has been suggested by Briffault for the custom in various parts of the world. In any case, it does explain the practice among the Caucasians.

turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the 585
conduct of their daughters ; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible 896
for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions
not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats*
frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109]

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, [152]
for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is
not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned,
the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates
compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a
jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient 585
wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, 614
it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main [778]
wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite
in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large
number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia,
and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to [769]
die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially [372]
the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the
departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he [605]
touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption
into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family : to tear it down
is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the
living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain
is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member
of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the
person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath [189]
would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the
ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion
of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now,
marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the
most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life,
is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult 782
of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms
rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not
a stranger : she had to be chosen from within the sib ! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.)

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.[1]

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats !

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *ibid.*

[1] [sic--Analyst]

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of daggers.[114] [844] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soeručeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

matriarchy, even where there were no such traces to be found. The fact that 114
the bride is segregated during the wedding and no older relative of the bride-
groom (especially no *male* relative) may see and speak freely with the bride is 585
supposed to be a clear vestige of fraternal polyandry. In other words, there is 595
supposed to have been a time when all male members of the family had access to the bride, for she was the wife of all. Then came a time when, from experience, the Caucasians came to the conclusion that individual marriage was by far better than group marriage or fraternal polyandry. It was, of course, as we are told, not easy to abolish such a deeply ingrained custom, so that the bride had to be kept away from the others. Today the segregation of the bride is supposed to be nothing but a vestige of the means taken against group marriage or fraternal polyandry.[119]

But if that were the case, why is the *groom* hiding, and in fact, even longer and farther away than the bride? Is that a vestige of a kind of sororal polygyny? Moreover, why is the groom hiding *elsewhere?* The best defense against anyone approaching the bride would be if the husband himself were at her side.

Another vestige of group marriage, according to Kovalevskij's fancy, is 585
the ceremony of "tramping on the bed." After the unveiling of the bride, as she is being led into the marriage chamber, all the young people rush in and the first to throw himself on the bed receives a prize. So as not to be accused of mere destructive criticism, we wish here to propose another conjecture (nothing more than a conjecture!), but a conjecture far more plausible than that of Kovalevskij. It is much more probable that we have here a vestige of the *jus primae noctis.* First of all, the ceremony of "tramping on the bed" takes place immediately *before* the groom enters the bridal chamber. If it were a vestige of group marriage or fraternal polyandry, why doesn't the main person take part in the ceremony? Moreover, the *jus primae noctis*, though very often reserved for the chief or father-in-law, is sometimes a privilege reserved for the strongest wedding-guest. In our case, the struggle among the young people to enter the bridal chamber first may be a vestige of a contest to prove who among them is the strongest. The remarkable fact is that in *neighbouring* Southern Russia, until rather recently, it was precisely the strongest wedding-guest who was given the task of deflowering the bride.[120] The Caucasians could have had a similar custom (perhaps even from the same source), which, however, evolved into a ceremony the significance of which has been forgotten.

From among all the juridical aspects of the ceremonies described, the most important is: Which ceremony constitutes the essence of marriage? In other words, at which point of the complicated wedding are the mates actually married? Naturally, where Christian or Mohammedan formal contracts are made, there is usually no doubt about the answer. But we are interested in customary law. Negatively, the marriage is certainly considered complete after the marital act has taken place. To say anything more positive in regard to

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[119] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 177.

[120] O. Asboth, "Ein Hochzeitsbrauch in Südrußland," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XIII, pp. 318 f.

8: Lukbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl

585 this important question is impossible. The proof of virginity may eventually be the essential element, or perhaps, the fireplace ceremony, whereby the bride pays her respects to the groom's ancestors and is formally taken into the new household. Only after very detailed and exact field work has been done among the different tribes can we ever hope to answer this important question.

Chapter VIII

Dissolution of Marriage

§ 1. BY DEATH

Marriages of widows and widowers are looked upon by all Caucasians as 587 inferior to nuptials between partners who have never been married before. For example, the bride price for a widow is smaller than that for a maiden,[1] except among the Nazranian Chechens and the Ingiloi of Sakataly; or again, the very marriage ceremonies are simplified when one of the partners happens to be a widow or widower.[2] The Pshavs[3] and the Khevsurs[4] consider a second marriage shameful if the widow has a child, especially, as is the case with the Khevsurs, a son. Our present problem is: Are there any indications in ancient customary law that at one time not even death could dissolve the marriage bond?

1. Suttee

The custom of committing suttee on the funeral pyre was very probably 764 a relatively widespread custom in the Caucasus in ages past. The funeral rites [762] of today still bear traces of widows being burnt together with their husbands' corpses.[5] 581 Al-Mas'ûdî, in his "Golden Meadows and Mines of Precious Stones" (A.D. 943) mentions that the Khazars of Caucasus "burn the dead with their cattle, instruments, and ornaments. If the husband dies, the wife is burnt alive together with the corpse of her husband."[6] An example of what might be a survival of widow cremation is the now meaningless but constantly repeated wail of the Ossetine widow, "I'll kill myself and cast myself into the fire," mentioned by Gatiev in his "Beliefs and Prejudices of the Ossetes."[7] Another possible vestige of former suttee is the custom of burying a plait of the widow's hair together with the corpse of her husband. Herodotus expressly mentions (ch. v.) that the Scythian women were eager to be immolated on the grave of their husbands. The probable existence of widow cremation in the

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[1] Cf. *supra*, Table, p. 89.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 121.

[3] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[4] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[5] R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge*, IV (1936), p. 414. "Daß in längst verflossenen Zeiten die Frau ihrem dahingegangenen Gatten als Opfer nachgesendet wurde, dafür gibt es im Totenritual der Kaukasusvölker eine Reihe beachtenswerter Anhaltspunkte."

[6] Translation from Abich, Klaproth, Beschreibung der russ. Provinzen, etc., p. 197.

[7] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

581 764 Caucasus clearly shows that the peoples of North Caucasia believed that a marriage tie could continue in the next world. However, since we do not have the slightest evidence that suttee was *obligatory*, the most we can say is that *perhaps*, at one time, death could not dissolve marriage.

2. Levirate

581 587 Once an Ossetine woman was married, she was considered bound to her husband forever unless divorced, as is evident from the following remarkable facts. (1) The widow was not allowed to marry outside her husband's family; the father or brother or son of the deceased man was obliged to take her to wife, but this second marriage was considered merely a *continuation* of the first. (2) The children of the second marriage were regarded as the sons and daughters of the [589] *deceased*. (3) The children received the name of the deceased. (4) If the widow had no brother-in-law, father-in-law or step-son, she had to remain unmarried, or live in concubinage, the children born becoming the sons and daughters of the deceased, even the legal heirs of the deceased. The marriage and concubinage had only one purpose: to "raise seed" and "build up the house" of the deceased till the wife would once again join him in the other world. These facts seem to be sufficient proof for the indissolubility of marriage even by death! Unfortunately, we do not have such details about the ancient levirate of the other peoples living in the Caucasus. However, when treating of preferential mating we did find obligatory levirate among the Ingushi and came to the conclusion that most probably the levirate was formerly obligatory also among the other mountain tribes.[8] In a word, it is quite *possible* that at one time death did not dissolve a marital bond.

§ 2. BY DIVORCE

586 The *adats* of all mountain peoples of Caucasus permit divorce. When speaking of divorce we must make a very clear distinction between the rights of the *husband* and those of the *wife*, between a *valid* divorce and a *justifiable* divorce.

[842] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to reports of the eigtheenth century, a wife might be desmissed in Abkhazia if she were "sterile," that is, if she did not give birth to a child before she was 30, or if she remained childless for five successive years.[9] However, a *valid* divorce is possible at will. The Temirgoi, for example, may divorce their wives "if they do not please their husbands."[10] Such is the case throughout Abkhazia and among the Cherkess today.[11] Although formerly the women in Northwest Caucasus were at a very great disadvantage in regard to divorce, today, they too may abandon their husbands without any special legal grounds. However, in such arbitrary

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[8] Cf. *supra*, p. 73.

[9] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 9.

[10] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta Temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 101.

[11] Cf. Ladvženskij, FT, p. 199.

dissolutions of the marriage bond, the husband forfeits the *kalym*, while the 586
wife, on her part, must return it to the man she unjustifiably abandons.[12] On the other hand, if the husband has sufficient grounds for a divorce, the *kalym* must be refunded; or if she justly abandons her husband, she need not return it. Legal grounds for a woman are impotency of the man for over a year and cruelty,[13] whereas a man (at least among the Temirgoi) may divorce his wife for disrespectfulness toward her parents- oder[1] brothers-in-law or laziness.[14]

The wife never has a right to any special alimony. In case of divorce, she may take her personal property along, that is, personal gifts, and if the divorce was not justifiable, her *kalym*. She never receives additional support, except if she has a child less than a year old, in which case she is given, in addition, 10 *puds* of flour, 10 *puds* of millet, and not more than two sheep.[15]

The children always remain with the father. If one of the children is less than a year old, the mother may keep the child and nurse it till its second year, when it must, without delay, be returned to its father's family.[16] Since divorce is relatively frequent, in some Cherkess families we find children of two, three, or even more, different mothers.[17]

A Cherkess and Abkhazian divorcée is free to re-marry, provided the [587]
regulation regarding the *kalym* has been carried out.[18]

If the partners wish to reunite after a divorce, they can do so only if a marriage with another person and a subsequent divorce intervened. The intermediate marriage and divorce may have taken place only an hour before the re-union, it matters little. They are nevertheless indispensable. Of course, the "re-union" is more than a mere re-union; it is actually a second marriage between the same partners.[19] This practice evidently is of Islamic origin.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The divorce regulations of the [171]
Chechens are much the same as those of the Abkhaz and Cherkess, but, owing to their greater isolation and slower acculturation, the divorce rights of the female partner have not reached the advantageous level of the Northwesterners.

In pre-Soviet times, a husband had far greater rights to dismiss his wife 586
than a wife had to abandon her husband., A husband might validly divorce 837
his wife at will, but his wife was not allowed to abandon her husband without first having received his consent.[20] Or again, as another *adat* has it: the infidelity of a wife is considered sufficient grounds for dismissal, but the infidelity

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[12] *ibid.*

[13] *ibid.*

[14] Vasil'kov, *l. c.*

[15] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 203.

[16] *ibid.*

[17] Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[18] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[19] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 199. This is a typically Islamic custom, cf. Koran, ii, 230. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 229—232; also, A. Gren, "Kratkoe izloženie Šariata," *Terskij Sbornik*, III (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 16.

[20] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 123; p. 175, § 160. "§ 123 ... žena na razvod prava ne iměet, be. soglasija muža. Mužu že dozvoljaetsja razvod vo vsjakoe vremja, ne sprasivaja soglasija ženy."

[1] [Sic--Analyst]

586 837 of a husband never justifies a wife to divorce him.[21] In fact, the inequality was even far greater: although a husband's wilful act of adultery was not sufficient grounds for a divorce, rape suffered by an innocent wife was.[22] Other legal [842] grounds for a divorce[1] were sterility of the wife or the fact that she was "capable" of giving birth only to girls,[23] which is but another form of "sterility."

586 A divorcée has no right to a special alimony. Instead, she has her own personal property and especially her *kebin*.[24]

If a wife abandons her husband for any reason other than the few legal grounds granted her, she not only must return all engagement and wedding gifts received from her husband, but her family must also return the entire *kalym*. In fact, she may not re-marry till the *kalym* is refunded. Sometimes the husband out of mere malice refuses the *kalym*, so that the divorcée must remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[25]

[429] [The children remain in the father's household, even if he should soon die after the divorce,[26] the guardianship always remaining in the male line.]

According to Lesghian customary divorce laws, which, on the whole, are in harmony with the *šari'a*,[27] the female mate is again at a disadvantage. An *adat* for North Tabassaran says that "the husband has the right to divorce his wife at any time . . . But a wife may abandon her husband only if he is impotent, or if he has a contagious disease, or, finally, if he is unable to support her."[28] The disadvantage lies in the restricted legal grounds justifying the women to abandon their husbands and the almost unlimited possibilities of a justified divorce of the men. However, the expression "at any time" in this *adat* is an exaggeration. If a husband divorces his wife unjustifiably, he must pay the sum promised (*kebin*) and forfeits the *kalym*. If the wife abandons her husband for any other reason than the three grounds enumerated, she loses her right to the *kebin* and her family is obliged to refund the *kalym*.[29] Of course, if the husband is willing to pay the *kebin* and lose his right to a refund of the *kalym*, he may divorce her, literally, at any time.

586 695 Another occasion for divorce is the so-called *khatun-tallkh*. It is a common form of oath in Daghestan, which only a married man can take. The husband declares himself ready to dismiss his wife if he swear falsely. If he has several wives, he must specify which wife he will dismiss in case of perjury.

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[21] Leontovič, II, p. 173, §§ 150, 152.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 143.

[23] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21.

[24] Leontovič, II, p. 169 f, § 119; p. 176, § 172. The special decision of 1862 in this regard seems to be an imitation of the Islamic *kebin*.

[25] Leontovič, II, p. 175, § 166: "*čtoby razvedennaja žena ne byla 'ni emu, ni drugomu.'*" See also Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

[26] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 199 f.

[28] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 32 Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 199.

[29] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*

[1] [among the Northeastern Caucasians--Analyst]

The *khatun-tallkh* is a much stronger oath than any other in Daghestan, even 586
stronger than an oath on the Koran. The wife, therefore, may be the innocent 695
victim of her husband's falsehood.

The *khatun-tallkh*, according to Robertson-Smith (*Kinship in Early Arabia*, p. 77) and Kohler ("Ueber das vorislamitische Recht der Araber," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII [1888], pp. 246, 251) is a pre-Islamic oath incorporated into Islamic law. Kovalevskij, who cites both authors, maintains that Islamic missionaries are responsible for the practice in Daghestan.[80] We cannot deny the possibility of Islamic origin, but mere similarity is no sufficient proof. If such argumentation were methodologically indisputable, we should be justified in concluding that the levirate, polygyny, divorce, and other institutions have been imported from Arabia. All that we wish to say is that it is not at all so certain that the Caucasian *khatun-tallkh* is of Islamic origin, as Kovalevskij would have us believe. An oath, by its very nature, seeks the strongest sanction possible. Now, we have shown, when treating of the attitude of the Caucasians toward plurality of wives, how highly a wife is esteemed. She is, we said, the best family investment. To be forced to surrender her would therefore be a very efficient sanction against perjury. It may very well be the high esteem for the value of a wife and the need of a strong sanction that gave rise to the *khatun-tallkh* long before Islamism appeared on Caucasian soil, and perhaps belongs to a common substratum of ancient Arabian culture and Caucasian customary law. [177]

Although the question regarding the guardianship of children after divorce has not been studied, we may conjecture that Lesghian *adats* restrict the right to the father alone. Guardianship, as a general rule, in primitive societies, follows the norms of inheritance: in patrilineal families the children remain with the father, in matrilineal, with their divorced mother. Since inheritance is fundamentally patrilineal according to ancient customary law of the Lesghians, we feel justified in making this hypothetical assumption.[81] 586 [428]

The women of the neighbouring peoples enjoy about the same rights of divorce as do the North Caucasian women. Everywhere they are at a disadvantage.

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov tells us that during his time the Georgian mountain tribes would divorce their wives for the least provocation. It happened now and then that a week after marriage the bride would not turn out to be as pleasing as the groom had imagined, or as good a housekeeper as the groom's family hoped for; such a disappointment was sufficient to occasion a divorce.[82] She could also be dismissed for superficiality, theft, or laziness.[83]

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[80] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 127.

[81] Cf. Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97, who believes that the Avars do not have a fixed rule in this regard.

[82] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 f.

[83] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," Das Ausland, 1891, No. 17, p. 336. If the woman had a son, it was much more difficult to divorce her (a custom of the Pšavs), cf. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," *p.* 109.

586 It is very difficult to determine just what rights women enjoyed according
to Georgian customary law. King Vakhtang's Code tells us that women had
no right to abandon their husbands, except in case of cruelty,[34] and, we may
[587] add, sterility.[35] If she nevertheless runs away from her husband, the Code tells
us, she may not marry another man unless she pay the full bloodwite corresponding to her husband's social rank,[36] a sum which she generally cannot afford.[37]

After a divorce the children remain with their father. The mother may take her suckling with her if her husband agrees and if she promises to return the child after it has been weaned.[38]

Formerly the OSSETINE women had no possibility of divorce at all, except, of course, in the Mohammedan parts of Ossetia.[39] Today her condition has somewhat improved.

But we do not wish to say that the wife had no protection against an unjust dismissal. An arbitrary divorce was indeed valid, but it involved a great economic loss for the husband. In such cases he would have to forfeit the *irad*, a third of which went to the divorcée. If he did have legal grounds for divorce, a third of the *kalym* would be refunded to him, or earlier still, a half of the *kalym* would be refunded in all cases of just divorce except in case of adultery, when the wife's family would have to return it entirely.[40]

In Ossetia the divorcée must return to her father's house or else re-marry, but remarriage is always difficult because such women are considered as "bad wives."[41] The children, as a general rule, remain with the father.[42] The main legal grounds for divorce are: infidelity, sterility, impotence, and certain physical defects and sicknesses of the wife.[43]

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[34] Karst ed., p. 109.

[35] Dareste, *Etude d'histoire du droit*, p. 133, cited by *A. H. Post*, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 116.

[36] Karst ed., *l. c.* Cf. also Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113, *note*, who says that the average bloodwite was about Rs. 80 about an hundred years ago.

[37] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[38] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 174.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Klaproth, however, maintains that even in the case of unfaithfulness the husband received only half of the *kalym* because the husband was considered partly at fault for his wife's adultery, in so far as he did not watch over her conduct as closely as he should have. He had received her as a virgin, that is, the family of his wife had taken great pains in watching over her virtue till her wedding day. At marriage this obligation passed over to her husband (Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 250). However, this entire explanation seems to be somewhat artificial. We should not, I think, stress the culpability of the husband, as Klaproth does, but rather the effort of the family in preserving their daughter a virgin up to the time of her marriage, which deserves compensation. Moreover, the husband has derived not an insignificant economic profit from his wife up to the time of the divorce, whereas the family was deprived of it. This too deserves a compensation. This latter explanation is not far-fetched. The neighbouring Georgian mountain tribes have their *namashvrali*, that is, the husband must pay the divorcée one cow for every year she has lived with him.

[41] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[42] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[43] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 173. See also Pčelina, "Rodil'nje obyčai u [illegible]," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

Summing up the results of our comparitive[1] study we may say :

(1) It seems that at one time divorce was an exclusive right of the husband, almost everywhere in North Caucasus. 586

(2) Throughout the Caucasus, the husband has the right to dismiss his wife *at will.* The most arbitrary divorces are recognized by customary law as valid.

(3) The *adats* always make a distinction between a merely *valid* divorce and a divorce that is both valid and *justifiable.*

(4) Although the divorce rights enjoyed by the women do not equal those enjoyed by the men, the rights of the former have greatly increased, mainly through Islamic and Russian influence.

(5) The inequality lies mainly in the grounds which render a divorce justifiable.

(6) After a divorce the children remain with the father. In a word, the divorce laws are again typical of a patriarchal society.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to note how the fireplace, which played [778] such an important part in the marriage ceremonies of the North Caucasians, is not overlooked when a marriage is dissolved. By walking round the hearth three times, the new bride got in touch with the groom's ancestors and thus officially became a member of the household. Though the fireplace ceremony is very rare in Northeastern Caucasia, it seems to play an important part in the dissolution of marriage. Thus in certain localities of Daghestan, when a woman is declared divorced, she goes to the hearth, takes a handful of ashes and throws them into the wind.[44] It may very well be that the relation of the fireplace and divorce has been overlooked by the explorers. By scattering the ashes she is perhaps trying to undo what she did by walking round the fireplace on her wedding day or shortly after. Even though the two practices may not coincide today (i. e., locally), the possibility that they did coexist formerly is not excluded.

Finally, a word about an institution closely resembling divorce, mentioned 582 by J. G. Georgi in his *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten* (1776) which includes among the "Merkwürdigkeiten" the so-called *trial marriages* of the Cherkess. Within a given time the wife had to prove her fertility, otherwise the union would be dissolved. Recently similar temporary or trial marriages have been discovered in Ossetia.[45]

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[44] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 101.

[45] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 232, *note* 1.

[1] [Sic--Analyst]

III. THE FAMILY

Chapter IX

The Offspring

§ 1. CONCEPTION

833 Herodotus has accused the Lesghians of copulating "in public as beasts are wont to do."[1] Such an accusation, however, is absolutely false. Even the slightest sign of affection between husband and wife is tabooed by customary law throughout the Caucasus, except, of course, in strictest secrecy.[2]

Owing to the delicate nature of the subject, very little material has been gathered by the explorers, even though these matters may have a deep sociological significance, as, for example, the extent of birth control, or a psychological and religious significance, such as, for example, the extent of sexual taboos, voluntary abstinence, etc.

841 171 Astoundingly widespread is the taboo of marital intercourse at times of menstruation. A glance at Frazer's or Westermarck's classical works[3] will suffice to convince us of the universality of this prohibition. This same horror of menstruous blood is found in the Caucasus also. However, very little data are at our disposal. We are not told how long these "monthly" periods last, nor the extent of the horror. The Pshavs and the Khevsurs have little stone hovels *(samrevlo)* situated in an open field,[4] (or now usually next to the home),[5] where the unclean woman must stay during her monthly periods. Kovalevskij attributes the practice to Zoroastrianism.[6] He does not seem to be aware that such segregation and "hovels" are found in other parts of the world, where Zoroastrianism has never been known. The fact that the "unclean" woman must wash herself in cow's urine,[7] however, most probably has been taken over from the ancient Iranian religion.

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[1] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240.

[2] Cf. *infra*, pp. 63, 175 f.

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (abridged), pp. 207—210 ; 595—607.
Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I, p. 230.

[4] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 236.

[5] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 72 f.

[6] *Zakon*, I, pp. 98 f.

[7] Cf. *Zakon*, I. pp. 83—122.
The ancient Iranian religion considered cows as sacred animals.

§ 2. PREGNANCY

An expectant mother is no longer an ordinary woman in the eyes of the North Caucasians. She has assumed an entirely new value. The mountaineers of Caucasia look upon a murder of a pregnant woman as doubly serious, pregnancy being considered an aggravating circumstance. Thus in Sirgua District of the Province of Dargwa, the murderer must pay an additional 30 silver rubles to the mother's relatives besides the usual bloodwite for murder.[8] In many places an assault causing abortion is considered as serious as murder, and full bloodwite must be paid for the death of the foetus. If the mother dies too, a double bloodwite is demanded by the *adats.*[9] Or again, two persons will become blood-enemies (*qanly*) instead of one—the murderer and one of his kin—one to atone for the death of the mother and the other for the death of the unborn child.[10] Sometimes such cases are dealt with according to two distinct laws, the Islamic and customary.[11] In Ossetia, a pregnant woman becomes exempt from the more strenuous tasks, evidently, as a precaution against miscarriage.[12] 843 [6.82]

§ 3. BIRTH AND PREFERENCE FOR BOYS

Since the Caucasians, all without exception, are strictly patrilocal, patriarchal and patrilineal, we need not wonder at the preference for boys that prevails throughout the Caucasus. It is the boy who perpetuates the family economically. He also perpetuates the family cult and gives the family prestige. 842

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS say "He who has no sons has no children."[13] But even girls are welcome,[14] though perhaps not without some disappointment. The girls are an asset to the family in as far as they are workers and a source of considerable income especially through the *kalym*. Hence, after the young wife becomes a mother of a boy or girl, she takes on a new character and is proud of becoming "fully a wife." She visits her father after her first child and on this occasion he gives her the rest of her bridal portion. Now she is permitted to take off her girl's cap and put on her matron's veil.[15]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. When an Ingush couple have become the parents of a baby boy there is indescribable rejoicing in the *aul*, and 842 844

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[8] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[9] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 35, 43, 47, 49.

[10] Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," pp. 43, 47, 49.

[11] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 15, 36, 76. On page 15 we read: "Za ubijstvo beremennoj ženščiny, sverch obyknovennago vzyskanija po adatu, opredeljaetsja vzyskanie po šariatu."

[12] Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 89 ff, who deals with the Ossetine pregnancy customs at length. Many are the questions we might suggest to the Caucasologists regarding pregnancy, which have not yet been investigated. To mention but one important problem: What is the extent om "uncleaness" incurred through pregnancy? (*Cf.* Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 114.)

[13] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[14] Mačavriani, "Nekotorija čerty iz žizni Abchazcev," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 45.

[15] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 388.

842 very special festivities take place. Shooting, feasting, and dancing mark the birth [844] of a boy; whereas no special festivities take place if a girl is born. Women, of course, come to congratulate the mother, at the same time not forgetting to console her.[16]

[574] All Lesghian peoples prefer boys too. The first one to announce the good news of the birth of a *boy* receives a reward.[17] The Avars have the courious custom according to which anyone to whom a *son* (not however a daughter) was born in the past year has to give a special feast to his neighbours in spring.[18]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The Pshavs frequently pray and offer numerous sacrifices for the blessing of a male child, and if these supernatural means fail, there is only one thing left to do—marry a second wife, who is "capable" of giving birth to boys.[19] At a Pshav wedding the *khevis-beri* ("The Elder of the Valley") prays: "George, Angel of the Oak, grant thou a boy to [842] the parents of a girl and another boy to the parents of a boy..."[20] Dubrovin reported that among the Georgian mountaineers baby girls were killed immediately after birth because they believed that by doing so the next child would infallibly be a boy. One could come across families who had killed as many as five girls.[21]

The OSSETES have an unusual longing for male children. Thus, for example, the Digorians are greatly disappointed when a girl is born, and this disappointment is expressed sometimes in very irreverent words by the woman-attendant. "May Mairan (Mary) be struck blind for not making you a boy! May she now provide for you a speedy death!" But then, if the following child is a boy, the woman-attendant pleads for forgiveness, "Oh, Mairan, forgive me! 585 They longed for a boy. That is the reason why I scolded thee."[22] We have 842 already mentioned the marriage custom of leading the bride to a Mairem[23] Shrine, at which the children throw stones and say, "So many boys and only one blue-eyed girl grant thou Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman then must repeat this prayer.[24] At an Ossetine marriage the Ram-god (Firi-dzuar) is invoked: "Look down upon us and grant that this our bride may give birth to boys healthy and fat as sheep!"[25] We have also mentioned the marriage ceremony of placing a little boy on the lap of the bride, so that she may soon give birth to a boy (*supra*, p. 122). Or again, while the groomsman describes a triple circle in the air with his special wedding club he cries out three times, 585 "Prosperity ! Prosperity ! Prosperity !" Then he explains just what is meant 842 by "prosperity": "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl."[26] On New Year's Day the Ossetine boys go round to everyone wishing, that throughout the New Year "men might kill many stags and women might bear sons only."[27] Čursin tells us how a certain Ossete, Bergisov by name, received a vision from above. Now, in such a case, any two wishes will be granted, provided the person thus favoured make also a third wish, which, however, must be an evil one. Bergisov's good wishes were that he and his sons might live happily, while his third wish was that his daughters might die.[28] The birth of a first-born male child is celebrated with unusually great festivity and joy.[29] The happy mother returns to her father's house, where a special feast is given in honour of the baby boy.[30] After the birth of a girl, the mother goes with the baby to a Shrine of Mairem with the hope that the next child will be a boy.[31]

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[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 19 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 439.

[17] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[18] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 63. A similar custom is found in Ossetia (Pčelina, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

[19] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byt Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 110 f.

[20] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 98.

[21] *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[22] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158.

[23] Baddeley interprets "Mairam," "Mairem," "Mairan" as "Mary," i. e., the Virgin Mother of Jesus Christ. However, Mairam is a male god, the protector of women, the brother of Uastrdzh. (Cf. Pčelina's report on his expedition of 1934—1936, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86, *note* 2.)

[24] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[25] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

Some of the Caucasian TARTARS express their preference for boys in the following manner : the bride wears a garment in which nine knots are tied, a sign that she must give birth to seven boys and only two girls. They also have the custom of placing a little boy on the bride's lap.[32]

§ 4. INFANTICIDE AND BIRTH CONTROL

Since Caucasians, as a general rule, crave for children, it is only to be 847 expected that infanticide and birth prevention should be rare. We do not find the practice of infanticide in North Caucasia, especially not in Daghestan, where Islamic influence is strong.[33] Islamism regards female infanticide as a very serious crime. Some of the mountaineers of Georgia indeed practice female infanticide, but the practice is thoroughly un-Georgian. The Svans as late as the last half of the nineteenth century would kill their baby girls immediately after birth by stuffing ashes into the mouth and then throttling the child till it suffocated,[34] or, sometimes, the infant was simply allowed to starve.[35] The Khevsurs prevented birth mainly by abortion, a practice still common today. A young couple in Khevsuria may not have a child till after the fourth year of

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[26] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 17.

[27] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194.

[28] *Osetini*, p. 82. Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.

[29] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 340 f.

[30] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[31] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 102. If a girl is born, only a very simple ceremony takes place : the *avsin* (mother of the household) brings the infant to the hearth without saying a word. (See Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.)

[32] Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "Neskolko svědenij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 111 f.

[33] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[34] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 111 ; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[35] Dubrovin, *l. c.*

847 married life (in Pshavia, not before the third year[36]). The second child may not see the light of day till the seventh year after marriage, and the third child (just as in Pshavia[37]) must be the last.[38] We called the practice "thoroughly un-Georgian" because it is resorted to only when the mountaineers consider it unavoidable. The indescribable poverty of their land "drove" them to this painful extinction of baby girls. It was this same poverty that led the neighbouring South Ossetes (the Tualti, inhabitants of Nar, Tib, Mamisson and other *auls*) in the eighteenth century to expose or strangle their infant girls and to sell their boys into slavery in spite of their great longing for male children.[39] In Ossetia, [732] before the Revolution, physically deformed babes would be choked to death immediately after birth, without even being shown to the mother. Such deformed infants were killed regardless of sex, for the Ossetes believed that such infants owe their existence to evil spirits. Similarly, even today, deformed colts, calves and lambs are killed immediately after birth, because "they come from the evil spirits."[40] We have already mentioned that some Georgian mountaineers kill their baby girls in the belief that the next child will infallibly be a boy.[41]

§ 5. OTHER BIRTH CUSTOMS

1. The Couvade

846 The couvade, to my knowledge,[42] is not practiced anywhere in North Caucasia. We do find it among the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, where not a few traces of an ancient mother-right culture have survived.The couvade is upposed to be practiced by the Yassai of Sakataly primeval forest, southwest of Daghestan,[43] and according to Strabo by the West Iberians.[44]

2. Circumcision

304 This custom, wherever it is found in the Caucasus, is doubtless of Islamic origin.[45] The Mohammedan Ossetes were greatly averse to the practice till the mullahs succeeded in convincing them that all uncircumcised persons would have to spend their eternity without a head.[46]

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[36] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn. *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 73 f.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[40] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[41] *Supra*, p. 140.

[42] Unfortunately L. M. Melikset-Bekov's study on the couvade in the Caucasus (*K voprosu ob obyčae kuvady na Kavkaze v svjazi s jazykovymi perežitkami matriarchata*) is not at my disposal.

[43] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 103.

[44] Strabo, iii. 4, 17. Cf. N. Marr, *Der japhetische Kaukasus und das dritte ethnische Element im Bildungsprozess der mittelländischen Kultur*, p. 72; A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique, etc.*, p. 85.

[45] For example, in Daghestan (cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 191).

[46] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

3. Naming

Islamism has greatly influenced the custom of naming children, though the ancient names of animals are still given to children. The Ingush boy often receives a name of an animal, for example, Ox, Dog. The girl may be called *Asi-vakhara* ("She who Mounts a Calf"), or *Dzhali-vakhara* ("She Whose Keeper is a Dog").[47] The Kists call their boys by such names as *Ali*, *Tashtarukva*, *Gers*, *Choch*, *Elbert*, *Shoka*, *Bosh*, *Ekash*, *Noga*, *Mahemet* ; the girls, by such names as *Sauvalik*, *Badigi*, *Balakai*, *Tutai*, *Patuma*, *Tsabi*, *Aragus*.[48] Among the Avars every boy and girl receives a name immediately after birth ; after the demise of the father, his first name is added to that of his child, for example, Mahamed, the Son of Ali, or "... the Daughter of Ali." The Avars do not have family names, and never is a child named after the mother.[49] The Khevsurs and the Pshavs often name their boys after wild animals, as symbols of the future character of the boy. Girls are often named after words of affection.[50] A boy may receive a name such as *Mgela* ("Wolf"), *Vepkhvia* ("Panther"), *Datvia* ("Bear"),[51] *Zizila* ("Chick"),[52] *Zaglika* ("Dog"),[53] whereas a girl may be called *Mzia* ("Little Sun"), *Tetrua* ("Fair-Complexioned"), *Gulta-mze* ("Sun of the *Heart*"), *Mze-vinari* ("Who is the Sun?"), *Mzekala* ("Miss Sun"), *Deduna* ("Mother Dear"), *Natela* ("Brightness"), *Gandza* ("Treasure"). Of course they have also other names, some being of Christian origin : *Khutara* ("The Witty One"), *Gamikhard* ("Joy Bringer"), *Berdeva* ("The Old Lady"), *Imeda* ("Hope"), *Georgi*, *Ivane*, *Mariam*, *Tamara*, *Elena*.[54] Some favourite Christian names among the Tushi are : *Georgi*, *Gabrill*, *Theodor*, *David*, *Tamar*, *Maria*, *Anna*.[55] The Pshavs sometimes receive a Christian name from their priest ; nevertheless the family insist on calling their children by an ancient Pshav name.[56] The Ossetes are fond of names of animals too. According to Kovalevskij, a child receives two names, an official Christian or Mohammedan name and one of a wild or domestic animal.[57] Pčelina believes that "strange" names like *Khoebys* ("Puppy"), *Saukuydz* ("Black Dog"), *Dombay*

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[47] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 125.

[48] Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 149.

[49] Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus, etc.*, p. 96. However, there is one exception : when the Akhtinians and Rutulians marry one of their daughter to another sib in order to keep the groom's sib from dieing out. Cf. *supra*, p. 52.

[50] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, pp. 152 f.

[51] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 f.

[52] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 65.

[53] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[54] Eristov, *l. c.* ; Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 82 ; Mourier, *l. c.*

[55] Güldenstädt, *Reisen durch Russland und im kaukasischen Gebirge*, I, p. 378.

[56] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 113. See his large list of Pshav names, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.

[57] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 212. For examples see Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 117.

551 (" Lion "), *Vari* (" Vulture "), etc. are intended to deceive the evil spirits, who are able to take the life of the child only if they can call it by its true name.[58]

4. Segregation

844 789 A Lesghian woman becomes unclean through childbirth, and hence the father may not be present at the birth nor during the entire period of uncleaness, which lasts for several weeks.[59] Child-bearing renders the mother unclean in Ossetia as well. The Mountain Georgians have special birthhouses for expectent mothers. In Svanetia the mother is unclean for 40 days,[60] in Khevsuria and Pshavia, a few days longer.[61] A woman can be cleansed (in Khevsuria and Pshavia) by washing her hair in cow's urine.[62] In Ossetia a woman is considered unclean for six weeks after childbirth. During this period she is not allowed to work, except to sweep the floor and look after the children. The marital act [828] is likewise forbidden.[63]

5. Weaning

862 Very little data is available regarding weaning of children and taboos during the period of lactation. As a general rule, the Lesghians wean their children at the age of five or six.[64] The Avars usually do not wean them before they have reached the use of reason.[65] Pshav children are weaned at the age of four.

6. Fire-place Ceremony

851 We have seen what an important part the hearth played in the marriage ceremonies of the Northwestern Caucasians, the Ingushi and Ossetes. By circling round the hearth the bride officially became a member of the family. We should also expect a birth ceremony of some sort or other at the fire-place, by which the infant would likewise be officially recognized as a fully fledged member of the family and by which the newborn would come in contact with the ancestors and receive their protection. We find such a ceremony among the neighbouring peoples of Iranian stock, the Ossetes[66] and the Kurds.[67] Though the hearth

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[58] Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 98.
For Ossetine naming ceremony, see *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.
Could not this fondness for animal names be a vestige of individual totemism?

[59] Kovalevskij, " Iranian Culture in the Caucasus," *The Archaeological Review*, June, 1888, cited by Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202. See also *op. cit.*, I, pp. 97 f, 139 f.

[60] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[61] G. Demidov, *V uščelijach pervobytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 16. Požidaev (*Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 107) says that the Khevsur mother is " unclean " for 30 days.

[62] Demidov, *l. c.* After delivery, the mother must remain in the birth-hut for two weeks; after that she must live in the stable for about five weeks. S. I. Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Today the Pshavs use holy water instead of urine (*ibid.*).

[63] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[64] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[65] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[66] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[67] Jankó, *Néprajzi, etc.* Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 63.

has (or at least has had) the same significance among all North Caucasian 851
mountain tribes, the explorers pass over the relation between birth and the fireplace without a single word. This may be a serious oversight.

§ 6. RESPECT OF CHILDREN FOR THEIR ELDERS

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *adats* inform us that the children have 593
a strict obligation of acknowledging the authority of their father. They must
respect him and carry out all his commands. To disobey him or even to oppose [888]
his wishes would be, "according to customary law, the greatest abomination, and according to Islamic law, the greatest of sins."[68] This respect must continue even when old-age renders their parents helpless. When a joint-family is divided, [737]
the sons must set aside a definite amount of property for the support of their parents and for their funeral.[69] The sons have the strict obligation of erecting a tombstone for their parents. The *adats* also demand that Rs. 300 should be [765]
set aside for an elaborate funeral feast. Formerly such feasts would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[70] This great respect for parents is extended to elders in general, and especially to elder brothers.[71]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Lesghians show an un- 593
usually great respect for their parents.[72] If the children fail to care for their 762
aged parents, they may be summoned before the *kâḍî*, who will force them to 888
do so.[73] Some excellent examples of this deep respect can be found in the official criminological reports of Kaitago-Tabassaran. "On August 3, 1869, a native of the village of Myura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Mahomet Omar, after having been scolded by his mother for laziness shot himself."[74] Or again, "On October 2, 1869, a native of the *aul* of Kulidzha, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Ali-bek Salig, quarreled with his son, Murtuzali. After some time his son returned to his father and begged forgiveness. His father, however, refused to listen to his son's repentent words, coldly showing him the door and telling him never to return again. On hearing these words, Murtuzali took out his pistol and shot himself. His father, on seeing that he was the cause of his son's grief and death, took his own life by falling on his *kinjal*."[75]

The reports concerning the Avars being contradictory demand special attention. Some claim that the Avars have just as much respect for their elders as do the other Lesghians. If a son is unable to fulfill the wishes of his father,

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[68] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 134.

[69] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[70] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[71] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 169.

[72] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 441 is certainly exaggerating when he says that the Chechens "deny their mothers even the respect Nature has implanted in the hearts of all men." This very sentence has been copied and re-copied from the *adat* collections by a number of pre-Soviet authors without inquiring into the reliability of the report. Svěčin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f, regarding Lesghians.

[73] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 203. For details regarding the kind of support demanded by the *korf'a* in Dargwa, see Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f.

[74] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 7.

[75] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," p. 8.

888 he may become so disheartened that he may even commit suicide as a result.[76]
593 L'vov, on the contrary, says that once the parents become old, they are no longer
[162] respected. In fact, their sons and daughters become very disrespectful, even refusing to sit at the same table with them. The aged mother must suffer from this ingratitude most of all.[77] The correct explanation for the attitude of the Avars toward their aged parents is that as long as the children are still economically and administratively subject to the father of the household, whether the sons have their own families or not, they have unusually great respect for them ; but as soon as the joint-family breaks up, this respect diminishes to an astounding degree.

The neighbouring mountain tribes of GEORGIA show great deference toward their elders too.[78]

The OSSETES have an adage which clearly conveys their attitude toward elders. As Kovalevskij's translation has it, "*Que le taureau boive de l'eau, disent-ils, et que le veau lèche la glace.*" In other words, the Ossete is convinced that "the best morsels are always for the elders."[79]

The great reverence shown toward the father of the family (individual or joint-family) throughout the North Caucasus is to be expected, for the mountaineers are (or have been) strictly patriarchal. Moreover, being family-worshippers, they revere not only their departed (ancestors) but also their living parents, for to both the family owes its existence. Mohammedanism too has encouraged love and respect for one's mother, and not without success. There is a beautiful story told of the Caucasian prophet, Shamyl. The Chechens had been fighting desperately against the "infidels." To continue the battle was futile. They therefore sent a messenger to Shamyl, asking permission to capitulate, but Shamyl answered, "It is not lawful for the children of Allah to compromise with the infidels." The Chechens realized that to continue would mean complete annihilation. Nevertheless, the Chechens continued to fight, bleed, and die. They again appealed to Shamyl, but in vain, for "Allah's words are unchangeable." Realizing that Shamyl never had refused his mother any request, they turned to her. When she approached her son, Shamyl at first listened, then grew pale and speechless. Allah demands that a son should never refuse his mother anything, but on the other hand, He says, "Compromise not with the infidels. Whoever dares to suggest such a perfidious thing shall receive 40 strokes." Shamyl loved his mother and he loved Allah's precepts. Should he now condemn his mother to 40 strokes? He was greatly perplexed. For three days and three nights he prayed and fasted in the hope that Allah would come to his assistance and enlighten him. When he finally came out of the mosque, pale and feeble, he said slowly, "Allah has spoken. His words are unchangeable. The Chechens must continue to fight to the last man ; I must

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[76] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (letom 1898 goda), SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 94.

[77] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 17 f.

[78] For example, the Khevsurs (Cf. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81).

[79] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 192, *note* 2.

indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested 888
surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one 593
stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again.

§ 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Cau- 871
casus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and [875]
especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially 212
with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an 191
alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88]

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education 868
of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave

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[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaällima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Mussayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

868 and to be alert. The boys are encouraged to develop into great warriors and robbers. If the boy's father or one of his brothers was killed by an enemy, the boy is constantly admonished of his sacred duty of blood-vengeance.[90]

[579] [577] Yes, boys are taught to become great robbers and raiders. Robbery and raiding are looked upon by the North Caucasians not only as a licit occupation (as long as the victim is a stranger), but a very honourable one. Robbery is a virtue, a national virtue, and forms one of the most important subjects of the curriculum of the Caucasian school-boy.[91] Robbers of Ossetia even have a patron-saint, St. George himself (*Sau-baredzi Dzuar*, i. e., "The Saint of the Black Horseman"), whose favour must be implored, for success or failure in a raid depends entirely on him. Crime is glorified.[92] Baddeley gives us an example of how a victim once forgave a thief out of mere admiration for the skill with which the theft was committed.[93] To rob without being caught is the greatest glory of the Cherkess.[94] Among the Abadzekhs the best robber is always chosen as leader.[95] It was only in recent times that the People's Court in the district of Adighé began to condemn natives for a crime which till then had been considered a virtue—to steal from another village.[96] The Chechen children are actually drilled in stealing. When a Chechen boy is allowed to bear arms for the first time, his father pronounces the solemn words, "May they serve you on the right and wrong paths, in theft and war."[97] The ambition of the young Georgian mountaineer is none other than to become a famous robber.[98] In short, everywhere in the mountains, the boy must be taught and trained to become great, and greatness consists in raids, robbery, theft, and vengeance.[99] Of course, there is a great difference between the Caucasian robbers of today and those of half a century ago. The Cherkess, for example, are no longer so notorious as they were several decades ago. Today they are generally peaceful agriculturalists and cattle breeders.[100]

Girls are brought up by the mother, from whom they learn to cook, make clothes, embroider, work out in the field, etc.[101]

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[90] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russischen Provinzen zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meer*, p. 120. What Klaproth says of the Lesghians held good for all mountaineers.

[91] Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 153 : "... dans tout le Caucase le brigandage était en honneur." See also : Ellis, *Memoir of a Map, etc.*, p. 20 ; Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 194 ; Dubrovin, *Istorija, I*, i, p. 442, ii, p. 364.

[92] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24.

[93] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

[94] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 131.

[95] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in d. süd. Statth. d. russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 369.

[96] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 194.

[97] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[98] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[99] This reminds us of what Caesar had to say of the Germans, *De Bello Gallico*, vi, 23 : "They do not regard it as infamous to rob others, provided that the robbery is committed outside their own land, but they actually encourage their youth to such acts, both to give them practice and to keep them busy."

[100] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

[101] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

In our exposition of the various marriage impediments we have also described the institution called *atalyk* (*supra*, p. 57). The upper classes especially used to give their children over to foster-parents whose task it was to teach them all these things. 858

§ 8. PARENTAL OBLIGATION OF SUPPORTING THEIR CHILDREN

In patrilineal societies in which the perpetuation of the family is the greatest 855 obligation of the individual and of the family as a whole, there is no danger that the boy will suffer any bodily need, food, clothing, shelter, unless absolutely unavoidable. But even girls are well taken care of. Even before Islamic law gave the Caucasian woman a right to a small part of the inheritance, which the *adats* excluded, female members of the family were always well provided for. After the death of the father, his obligation passed on to the oldest brother till all the sisters were married.[102] If the girl happens not to have any brothers, the obligation of support passes on to the nephews,[103] or to other relatives.

§ 9. PARENTAL AFFECTION FOR OFFSPRING

Much has been written about the lack of affection of North Caucasian 855 parents for their children. In most cases, however, the authors fail to grasp the 593 real psychology behind what seems extreme coldness and lack of parental affection. Reineggs, for example, who has given us one of the first reliable accounts of Caucasian customs, is not free from this very misunderstanding. He writes: "Er pflanzt sich tierisch fort, ohne Liebe zu kennen; er betrachtet sein Weib und seine Kinder als einen Teil seines Vermögens; er zählt sie zu seinen Herden, und bleibt, da er nur für körperliches Gefühl reizbar ist, gegen sittliche, empfundene Erfahrungen, gefällige Gunstbezeugungen ungerührt und in gleichgültiger Zufriedenheit."[104] In other words, Reineggs failed to distinguish between loving someone and manifesting this love *externally and publicly*.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Longworth, speaking about the Cherkess of about a century ago, made this very distinction. He says that the father "is forbidden the slightest manifestation of tenderness" not only for his wife but also his children.[105] He does not deny the existence of tenderness but only its exteriorization and manifestation.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Grabovskij mentions that an Ingush not only considers it a disgrace to carry his child in his arms or to fondle it but that he is forbidden even to mention its name before others.[106] Baddeley gives us a very fine example of how really degrading the Lesghians consider it to take their own children in their arms. "A fellow villager, Boulat-khan, had brought on himself the contempt of the men of Andee by publicly carrying his little son in his arms, a manifestation of affection so indecorous in native eyes as to imply

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[102] Leontovič, II, p. 246, § 107; II, p. 97. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[103] Leontovič, II; p. 177, § 178 (in regard to the Ingushi).

[104] Reineggs, *Allgemeine hist.-topograph. Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Vorrede, p. viii.

[105] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 285.

[106] "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčaj," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.

855 593 a total want of manliness. On one occasion, stung by the jeers of the men in his native regiment, he drew his 'kinjal' and crying: 'I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him', was about to do so when they seized his arm and succeeded in calming him."[107] A better example to illustrate the necessary distinction between love and public manifestation of that love we can hardly offer. "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him!" A paradox which a Western mind finds very difficult to grasp![108]

The neighbouring SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have the same taboo. A father may never carry his child before others or even say a friendly word to it. The most that the father may do is hold the child by hand when it is old enough to walk.[108a]

The neighbouring OSSETES observe the same rule. Here too it is not a lack of affection but a convention, which under no condition may be violated. "Neither husband nor wife might take their children in their arms, or by hand, or give them anything, in the presence of older members of his family. 'So far is this carried,' said Ourousbi [the Author's guide, an Ossete] 'that once one of my children fell into the water and might have been drowned, but as older men of the family were present I did not dare to call attention to the fact, much less take the child out of the water myself. Luckily one of them saw what was happening and saved it.'"[109] "So, too, Kosta Khetagouroff, the Ossetine poet, saved a child from falling off a high house-roof by stamping on its garments, but called a woman to pick it up as it would have been against custom for him to do so; and one of the Abayeffs, having in identical circumstances saved a child, called to its mother—his own wife—'Here, come and pick up your puppy!' (Čursin, *Osetini*, p. 40)." Baddeley claims that in this respect a change has taken place, and as proof, points out that in several of his own photographs Ourousbi is seen carrying a friend's baby. But here Baddeley forgets that the prohibition is not to carry a *friend's* baby but to carry *one's own* child.

§ 10. CONCLUSIONS

842 628 We have already mentioned the main reason why boys are preferred to girls, namely the patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal structure of the North Caucasian and neighbouring societies. But there is still another reason, based on intertribal relations and on the poverty of the mountain tribes, which leads them to a life of raids and robbery. The Caucasus is a typical land of blood-feuds. In the Terek Province, for example, with a population of about 930,000, there were in one year 365 cases of homicide or attempted homicide, an average of one a day. Feuds accounted for most of them.[110] The rest were the result

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[107] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 87 f.

[108] Cf. Dubrovin, I, i, p. 440.

[108a] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81. For the practice in the Government of Elizabethpol, see E. Melik-Šachnazarov, "Selenie Arcevanik, Zangezurskago uězda, Elissavetpol'skoj Gubernii," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), No. 2, p. 43.

[109] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269, from whom we borrow also the following citation of Cursin.

[110] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 81.

of raids and robberies. Girls are useless in these tasks, whereas, in this struggle 842
for existence, every additional boy means greater security and prestige. 628

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves, just why should the *adats* prohibit
the manifestation of one's affection for a child. The reason behind this 562
customary law seems to be founded not so much on a father-child relation as 885
on the male-female relation of the Caucasian society. If a father were to show 593
his affection for his child, were he to fondle and carry it, he would be imitating a *woman*, and that would be a terrible degradation ! This degradation will be better understood in the following chapter. This rule to my mind is linked up with the low position of the female sex. Just as a man may never do a task that is established by the *adats* as a task exclusively for women, e. g., milk cows, fetch water, gather wood, so a man may never carry, fondle, or rock his child. Čursin seems to be of the same opinion. He says that the Ossetes would call such a man by a very insulting name, "baba," that is, "old lady," if he would ever dare to milk a cow or look after children.[111] We wish to stress two facts : first of all, it is not a lack of affection for one's child that is prohibited, as we have said, but the *manifestation* of that love ; and secondly, the manifestation of love is forbidden simply out of fear of being considered an "old lady," a woman !

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[111] G. F. Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p. 39.

Chapter X

Husband-Wife Relations

"Women have been created for men"—these are indeed the words of the Koran (xxx. 20), but as we shall see in the present chapter, the slavish condition of the women throughout the Caucasus is *pre*-Islamic. In fact, Mohammedanism has contributed very much toward the partial emancipation of the female sex in the Caucasus.

§ 1. THE RELATIVE STATUS OF SEXES

There is nothing in North Caucasus that might even approximate our conception of social equality of man and woman.[1] We have already seen what little right she has in choosing a mate (*supra*, pp. 76—81) and how her wishes are taken less into consideration than those of the young man; how a man may have two or more wives (*supra*, pp. 39—50) and how a woman may be only a "secondary" wife. We have seen how a widow is obliged to marry a relative of her deceased husband, whether she herself be in favour of such a match or not, and if she refuses to marry him how she must remain unmarried for the rest of her life (*supra*, pp. 71—75). We have also seen how unequal are the rights and obligations of the male and female partner arising from an engagement (*supra*, pp. 106—110); how the bride was formerly sold, purchased, and inherited like a chattel (*supra*, pp. 82—91). We have seen how in the marriage ceremony she was humiliated by her husband; how she had to pass the virginity test or else be dismissed and formerly even mutilated mercilessly, and then sold off to slavery or even killed by her own father(*supra*, p. 124, Table 16), while the groom may have led the most liberal life before marriage and went unpunished. The unequal divorce rights, too, clearly show her less favourable position (*supra*, pp. 132—137). Infidelity of the wife is punished with divorce, mutilation, and death; while the same and even worse crimes committed by the husband cannot be punished by the wife (*infra*, pp. 168—182). We have also seen how boys are preferred to girls, and if economic conditions lead to infanticide, it is the baby girl that is killed and the boy spared (*supra*, p. 141). Then there are the unequal inheritance rights[2] and the disproportionate division of labour[3] which make her appear "a slave and not a wife." In the present 592 section we wish to mention a number of *adats* which clearly show the inferiority of the female sex in Caucasian society.

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[1] Cf. Požidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 105.

[2] Since a treatise on inheritance laws belongs more properly to a study on the joint-family and kinship than on the individual family, the present work does not include any special treatise regarding this question. Suffice it here to say that according to strict North Caucasian *adats*, inheritance is patrilineal and that as a general rule the women possess only their bridal portion.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The inferiority of the female sex is taken for granted by the women themselves. Cherkess etiquette demands that women, regardless of their social status, rise at once when a man enters the room; and, when passing by on the road, the woman must with downcast eyes humbly step aside for His Majesty, the Man.[4] In a word, the rule of etiquette is "Gentlemen first!" In Abkhazia custom demands that a woman speak to a man only if invited to do so.[5] In recent decades the conditions are supposed to have improved considerably in Kabardia, but even today, she is far from being her husband's equal.[6] Considerable improvement (though not complete emancipation) is also noticeable in Shapsug and Abadzekh villages.[7]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia women have been 593 gradually gaining more and more rights, but as in Kabardia, a wife is by no means her husband's equal. An *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories of about an hundred years ago reads literally: "The wife must consider herself a slave of her husband; she must always obey him; she must be submissive to him as to a master; she must be faithful to him..."[8] Or again, as an *adat* of the Ingush District informs us, "Till very recently (1862), the woman was nothing but a slave: she had no human rights."[9] She may not sit down beside her husband, nor may she take her meals with him. Her duty, we are told, is always that of a servant.[10] Požidaev assures us, however, that she is better off than any woman in other parts of North Caucasus, for when she is obliged to speak to her husband in the presence of strangers, "she may do so in a normal tone and need not whisper."[11]

The Lesghians have a saying according to which "there are two gods: Allah and the husband."[12] A husband has the right to punish his wife for any reasonable cause, though, not in public. A Lesghian once visited his neighbour and to his great surprise noticed two whips hanging on the wall. He was, naturally, curious and inquired about this luxury of possessing *two* whips. "Why *two?*" he asked. "I *need* two," answered the neighbour quite nonchallantly, "one to calm my horse and the other to calm the old lady."[13]

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[3] We shall devote an entire section (§ 2) to the division of labour (*infra*, pp. 156—159).

[4] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 282 f. There is no religious equality among the Circassians either: women are excluded from certain religious festivals. *Cf.* L. Ja. Ljul'e, "Vĕrovanija, religioznye obrjady i predrazsudki u Čerkes," ZKO, V (1862), p. 131.

[5] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 43.

[6] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 192.

[7] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 193.

[8] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 168.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156. See also Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[10] Berže, *l. c.*

[11] *Gorcy severnago Kavkaza*, pp. 106 f. This "privilege" is also found in Khevsuria (*ibid.*).

[12] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 194. See also N. Samurskij, *Dagestan* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1925), p. 46.

[13] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

593 562 "The Lesghian husband is, at times, very cruel to his wife," says Omarov, a Lak by birth, who describes in his excellent article (written 1870) what his own mother had to suffer, how husbands mercilessly beat up their helpless wives, and brothers their sisters.[14]

L'vov, describing the conditions prevailing about 75 years ago, writes of the Avars: "She is considered a mere slave. She is placed on the same level as a domestic beast, in spite of the fact that Islamic law gives her not a few rights. Even the possessions she brings along on her wedding day are hers only theoretically; practically, it is her husband who owns them. She is unable to dispose of her own property, whereas her husband may do with it whatever he wishes. All this is considered a sin neither in the eyes of God nor of man. If his wife proposes to bring the case up before the authorities, her husband will act at once: he either flatters her and so wins her over by 'love', and she out of gratitude concedes her rights to him, or, if she does not, he threatens to divorce her and to keep the *kebin* and thus to dismiss her without any security for the future."[15]

562 695 Another clear proof of the inferiority of Caucasian women is the insignificant participation allowed her in religious matters and law processes.[16] Many of these customs are, doubtless, of Islamic origin; many, however, are not, and the spirit behind such regulations is certainly pre-Islamic.[17]

Often women cannot be witnesses, unless there is at least one male witness present. In this case one male witness plus two female witnesses makes two legal witnesses. That may be poor arithmetic; but that is the actual practice, for example, in Dargwa.[18] Sometimes they cannot be witnesses at all.[19]

Sometimes women are not allowed to take an oath, for example in the District of Hyuraki,[20] or, at most, they may swear on the Koran as is the case in Sirgua.[21] In Hyuraki, the husband takes the oath instead, or, if the woman is not married, her nearest male relative takes it for her.[22] Never has she the right to take the *khatun-tallkh*, an oath, with an obligatory divorce as sanction (*supra*, pp. 134 f).[23]

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[14] "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4 f.

[15] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 31 f. Alichanov claimed that the women of Avaria were very independent (Cf. Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (lětom 1898 goda)," SMOMPK, XXXI [1902], p. 93.) However there is no reason to suppose that their condition is more favourable than that of the women in other parts of Daghestan (Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 72).

[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 141.

[17] Although some of the customs have been influenced by Roman-Byzantine law (e. g., in Chechnia, Khevsuria, Svanetia, and Ossetia, as Kovalevskij believes, *l. c.*), it cannot be denied that laws regulating the position of women in religious and inter-tribal (or legal) matters are mostly purely-Caucasian adats.

[18] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 71, 83 f.

[19] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 99.

[20] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 83.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 70.

[22] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 83, 70, 99.

[23] The *khatun-tallkh* is in itself another form of inequality. A wife may be divorced simply because her husband has sworn falsely. She, however, may never take such an oath.

Women are generally excluded from being conjurors. One of the most 562 common forms of evidence in the *adat* courts is conjury, an oath taken by 695 an established number of relatives of the defendant or plaintiff. Any hesitation, refusal of one of the conjurors to swear, or failure to find the required number of conjurors are considered undeniable evidence. The oath is taken by each of the conjurors either on the Koran, or sometimes toe *khatun-tallkh* must be sworn. The practice of conjury is found among all Caucasian mountain tribes: Cherkess, Chechens, Lesghians, Georgians, neighbouring Tartars, Kumyks, etc.[24] The number of conjurors required depends on the gravity of the crime, the penalty connected with it, and on the social position of the contending parties and conjurors. The following is an example of a catalogue of conjurors [685] established for theft in Mikakhi District.

For stealing sheep:	
one sheep	3 conjurors
two sheep	4 conjurors
three sheep	5 conjurors
four sheep	6 conjurors
more than four	6 conjurors

For stealing cows:	
one cow	5 conjurors
two cows	10 conjurors
three cows	12 conjurors
more than three	12 conjurors

For stealing young domestic animals:	
one colt less than three years old	6 conjurors
one one-year-old calf	3 conjurors
one two-year-old heifer	5 conjurors
one two-year-old ox	5 conjurors
one three-year-old ox	6 conjurors

This catalogue has been taken from the "Adat collection for the Districts of [682] Dargwa Province."[25] For murder and crimes considered as serious as murder[26] the number of conjurors may be as high as 40. Generally only relatives may be conjurors. This requirement is evidently a reflection of the strong solidarity of the Caucasian sib: to swear falsely would bring ruin to the swearer, and should a large number of conjurors be required, the entire sib, living and dead, may be doomed.

The proof by conjury is recognized by Islamic law, but its existence in the Caucasus need not be attributed to Mohammedanism. (1) Even in Arabia, it preexisted Islamism. In fact Mohammed merely borrowed and incorporated the *kazama* into his system.[27] (2) Moreover, it is a widespread institution among

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[24] See the various *adat* collections. See also Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, especially pp. 443 f.; *Code of King Vakhtang VI*, Karst edition, pp. 60, 179.

[25] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 53.

[26] *Supra*, Chapters XII and XIII.

[27] Goldziher, "Muhammedanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit," *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII (1889), No. 3, p. 412.

562 peoples having a patriarchal organization, regardless of religion. We find it
695 among the ancient Indo-European Slavs, Germans, and Ossetes.[28] (3) We also find it among non-Mohammedans of Caucasus.

After this lengthy degression we can offer a few examples to illustrate the relation of conjury to the unequal status of women. In Mugn District (Dargwa Province) women are not allowed to be conjurors. If less than 12 conjurors are required by any *adat*, not only must all conjurors be *male* relatives, but relatives of the *father*.[29] In Hyuraki District[30] and elsewhere[31] female relatives may participate in the conjury only if they are necessary to complete the required number of 40.[32]

682 The inferior position of the female sex is further expressed in the *adats* determining the amount of bloodwite. Sometimes, it is true, no distinction is made whether a man or a woman is the victim,[33] but sometimes a definite distinction *is* made. The Kurins, for instance, have an established bloodwite of Rs. 250 for the death of a man and only Rs. 125 for the death of a woman.[34] The Ossetine bloodwite for the murder of a man is twice as high as that for a woman.[35]

§ 2. DIVISION OF LABOUR

462 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. It is no longer true that all the work must be done by the female members of the family.[36] The men do the ploughing, woodchopping, hunting, and in general all the heavy work; the women do the usual housework, cook, wash, sew and mend clothes, and work in the garden.[37] Formerly, of course, the situation was quite different. The reports of the 18th and 19th century picture the Cherkess and the Abkhaz

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[28] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 460.

[29] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 60. For *adats* of the Tsudakhar District, see "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 111 f.

[30] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.

[31] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 71.

[32] If there are still not enough conjurors, the oath must be repeated till the required number of oaths is reached. ("Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.)

[33] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 47. When we use the words "crime" and "murder" we understand them in the sense of the *adats*. To be more exact we should rather say "damage" and "homicide." Customary law is not interested in *guilt*. It aims to repair damages done to the family and sib, whether that damage be intentional or accidental. If a horse accidentally kicks and kills a passer-by, both the rider and the owner of the horse become blood-enemies of the victim's sib (Leontovič, II, pp. 45 ff). Since customary law is not interested in guilt, it is not interested in *punishing*. It aims to *repair* the damages, hence it matters little whether the "criminal" himself or another member of his family or sib is "punished."

[34] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 7.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 340.
The position of the female sex in Khevsuria is somewhat better than elsewhere in the mountains (Požidaev, 106 f). She may even take her meals with her husband (Požidaev, *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza*, p. 107). The Kumyks allow their wives more rights than are granted to women by the *adats* of the true Caucasians (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 639).

[36] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 199 f.

[37] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

menfolk as gentlemen of leisure, the women bearing the burden of the family work practically by themselves.[38] 462

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Practically all the work in the house and in the field is done by the women, while the men usually just stand idly by. The tasks done by the men are generally only seasonal, such as hay-cutting, woodchopping, and ploughing. The women, on the other hand, must slave day after day, doing very strenuous work. And even when they have finished their work out in the field and their other chores, they are kept busy sewing and mending clothes, etc. In a word, life in Chechnia and Ingushetia is that of busy bees and lazy drones.[39] Of course, today there is a marked improvement in the position of the female sex. Even if we allow for the frequent exaggeration of pre-Soviet explorers and *adat* collectors, we cannot deny that the Ingush women were obliged to bear a terribly disproportionate share of the family work. In "The Collection of *Adats* for the Ingush Province of the 1860's" we read: "Only very recently the natives of the Ingush Province, according to an ancient custom, considered the woman a work-animal, a 'thing,' not a being possessing human personality."[40] Vertepov in his monograph on the Ingushi attributes the disproportion in the Ingush sex ratio to the disproportionate division of work. His supposition is confirmed by the fact that the Ingushi of the plains have a much more equal division of labour and at the same time the sex ratio is much more normal.

TABLE 17

Ingush Sex Ratio (Vertepov, "Inguši," **Terskij Sbornik**, II [1892], No. 2, p. 99) [162]

Location	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
Mountains	53.5%	46.5%	115 : 100
Lowlands	51.2%	48.8%	104.9 : 100

The mountaineers of Daghestan belong to the same class of "idlers" as the other North Caucasians.[41] The Avar women must carry loads of wood and hay sometimes from great distances, while the men only idle their time away. Women carry as much as 120 pounds (three *puds*) at a time.[42] L'vov has painted the lot 562

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[38] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 42.

[39] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 60, 93; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 437; R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 137; Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reise in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 242; Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 175.

[40] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 115: "Ešče ves'ma nedavno tuzemcy, naseljajuščie Ingušlevskij okrug, po obyčaju dobrago starago vremeni smotreli na ženščin, kak na rabočij skot, ščitali ženščinu vešč'ju, ne podozrevaja v nej nikakoj čelovečeskoj ličnosti."

[41] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 1—24, where find long detailed account of harvest and work out in field.

[42] Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*," p. 101.

562 of the women of Avaria as a very miserable one indeed. A woman, he tells us, is regarded as nothing more than a "work-animal." The men prefer this sort of "domestic beast" because she can stand much more than a horse or an ox; the only difference between her and a domestic animal is that she eats bread while an animal is satisfied with hay.[43] An ideal wife in the eyes of the Avars is one that is robust and, above all, very diligent.[44] L'vov goes on to call the husband a "heartless tyrant." He may get himself a second wife and regard the first as his slave, and woe to this poor miserable slave-wife if she does not bear a child before the newcomer! Endless jeers and ridicule are all that she can expect! [606] By moving into the house of her husband, she becomes a servant of her mother-in-law, who does only the easy jobs, leaving the disagreeable and difficult tasks to her daughter-in-law.[45] The Dido,[46] Botlikh,[47] Kaitago-Tabassaranians[48] and the other Lesghians do not differ from the Avars.[49] In Daghestan, "it is derogatory for a man to carry anything less dignified than a gun."[50] While the husband stands about and gossips at the local mosque or putters with his gun, the 462 wife must slave from morn till night. The husband, of course, does the sowing, makes the hay, threshes, sheers the sheep, builds houses;[51] but these jobs are not sufficient to keep him busy all year round. The wife does most of the harvesting, and, as Svěčin puts it, "brings half of the grain on her shoulders, leaving the other half for the donkey."[52] She has to cut the grass for the animals, care for the horses, cook, weave, milk the cows, mind the children, do the usual housework, set the cakes of cow-dung out to dry, clean the wool, spin, and fetch water.[53] Even the small girls of the family must take part in all these tasks. Frequently one can see nine- to ten-year-old girls carrying unbelievably heavy jugs of water, while boys as old as they, if not older, sit around and amuse themselves.[54]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the Khevsurs[55] and the Svans[56] it is again the female sex that must bear practically the whole burden of family work.

The traveller will frequently witness the typically Caucasian scene "of women working and men loafing" also in OSSETIA.[57] The men do the plough-

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[43] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 11, *note*.

[44] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[45] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[46] Merzbacher, *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, II, p. 455.

[47] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 284; K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), pp. 247.

[48] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[49] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48, claims that the Lak community of Batsa-Khari is an exception to this general rule.

[50] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[51] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[52] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, *nravov* i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 63.

[53] Svěčin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[54] Svěčin, *l. c.*

[55] Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III, (1855), p. 113.

[56] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[57] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69.

ing transporting and selling the produce, build houses, and do the heavy work; 462
however, this is far from being a full-time employment. The women, on the contrary, are busy all day long: they must milk the cows, fetch water from the well and wood from the forest, and, of course, look after the children. If a man were ever to do any of these jobs, he would become the laughing-stock of the village.[58]

§ 3. SPECIAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN

Despite all that we have said about the disadvantageous and even slavish 562
condition of the woman in North Caucasia and neighbouring territory, the 573
women enjoy certain rights and privileges which must not be overlooked. For example, throughout the Caucasus she alone is the *mistress* of the house.[59]

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIAN (as well as the Chechen), according to an *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 174), will permit no one to say anything unfavourable about his wife. The husband will tolerate an insult against his own father or mother, or even against himself, sooner than hear a single abusive word said against his wife.[60] When a daughter is married off into another sib the family does not lose all interest in her; on the contrary, it is this very interest that is her surest protection against ill-treatment. As we shall see in the following chapter, the husband who unjustly takes the life of his wife is infallibly avenged by her relatives. Moreover, the woman enjoys considerable freedom owing to the fact that her husband is frequently absent, either hunting or on a raid.[61] And even in the sixteenth century, as we read in G. B. Ramusio's *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583), the wife had a firm will of her own, which her husband usually respected. In a way, women are considered sacred: blood-vengeance will never take place before a woman,[62] and hence, she is an asylum like the sacred hearth-chain (*supra*, p. 127). The wife, or to be more exact, the mother of the household, is the sole mistress of the house and as such may arrange things within her little kingdom as she pleases and may even give orders to others.[63] In Abkhazia formerly a woman of a privileged class even had the right to preside at certain religious ceremonies, direct civil affairs, and be the leader in a raid.[64]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN does not lose interest in his 562
daughter after her marriage, and therefore he too compels her husband to 606

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[58] Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p 39; Merzbacher, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204; see Hahn, "Po dolinach Conoka, Urucha i Ardona," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), p. 32.

[59] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 231.

[60] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 175.

[61] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

[62] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.

[63] Castagné, "Le Droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," Révue des études islamiques, 1929, No. 2, p. 272.

[64] K. Mačavriani, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. -Položenie ženščiny v Abchajii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 41; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, pp. 34 f.

562 respect her rights. Chechen women enjoy considerably more freedom than do
[606] the women in Daghestan.[65] But even the Lesghian women are not entirely without rights. We have seen how in matters regarding engagement and marriage the mother plays an important part. This may be a vestige of an ancient mother-right culture.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Despite the slavish condition to which the South Caucasian *adats* condemn the female sex, the women are given certain unusual privileges, enjoyed not even by the menfolk. In Khevsuria[66] and Svanetia,[67] just as in W. Circassia[68] and OSSETIA,[69] a woman is able to put an end to a savage duel by a mere word or by her very presence. The Svan need but touch her and he is, at least temporarily, secure even in the presence of his bitterest enemy.[70]

Finally, we should not forget that the women are the official owners of their engagement and wedding gifts, and if divorced, also of the *kebin*.[71]

§ 4. PROBLEMS

562 The two main problems of this chapter are: (1) Why must the women
628 do most of the work? (2) Why is the status of women throughout the Cau-
[171] casus so unfavourable? These questions can be answered only in the light of our entire study and in the light of the entire culture of the North Caucasians. Her unfavourable and still privileged position as mistress of the house and as an asylum for any murderer resembles very closely the condition of the women in a society such as that found among pastoral nomads of Asia. It is indeed difficult to determine just in how far the pastoral nomads of Asia are responsible for the status of women in North Caucasus and in how far the general economic conditions among the mountaineers have contributed to the position of the female sex. Here we wish to point out one important contributing factor, raids and blood-feuds. By no means do we maintain that this is the *most* important or the *only* factor; it is, however, *a very important* one. Any mountaineer may object to the accusation that he is an idler by saying: "We men are constantly exposing our lives for our wives and children, while the women are able to work in peace and security. How can we be soldiers and farmers at the same time?" Amirov heard the same argument used in Kaitago-Tabassaran, where formerly there was hardly a man in all Kaitago that had not killed or cooperated in killing another man. As a consequence of feuds, the men had to be constantly on the lookout, constantly hiding, and frequently

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[65] B. Plaetschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. 33.

[66] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[67] Dirr, FT, p. 43.

[68] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.

[69] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov — narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 129.

[70] Dirr, *l. c.*

[71] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 143.

away from home.[72] It is indeed striking that, with the disappearance of blood-feuds, the men have begun to take a more and more active part in the family work.[73] 562 628

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[72] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48.
In regard to the Chechens, see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 437 f.

[73] For more material on the position of the female sex in the Caucasian society see the following: Olearius, *Ueber den Zustand Russlands zur Zeit des Alexei Michailowitsch*; J. de Lucca, *Rélations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, etc.*; Ramusio, *Raccolta di Viaggi*.
Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 49—96.
Alichanov, Series of articles in the *Kavkaz*, "V gorach Dagestana."
Leontovič, "Otnošenie muža k žene," *Adaty Kavkazskich Gorcev*, II, pp. 98 ff.
Mačavarian, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, pp. 40—76.
Zacharov, "Domašnij i socialnyj byt ženščiny u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, XX (1894), pp. 91—151.
Steinberg, "Pravovyje položenije ženščiny v Dagestaně," *Novij Vostok*, 1929, No. 26—27.

Chapter XI

Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidances

593 602 In our description of the engagement and marriage customs we have already mentioned some obligations of mutual avoidance. After marriage a certain mutual avoidance continues not only between the couple but also between parent and child, and between the couple and their kinship by marriage.

§ 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE CUSTOMS

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Among the oldest reports we have are those of Pallas. He informs us that in the eighteenth century the Cherkess husband and wife were not allowed to appear together before strangers.[1] In fact, for a year after marriage or till the birth of the first child the husband was not allowed to visit his wife except secretly.[2] And even afterwards when the couple lived under the same roof, they were not allowed to share the same room. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Longworth and Dubois de Montpéreux noticed the same custom, practiced in all its rigour, which both authors compare to the spirit of the ancient Spartans.[3] The *adat* collections of about an hundred years ago likewise speak of this strict separation of husband and wife in public and private life.[4] In the beginning of this century, Vasil'kov wrote that the Temirgoi customary law does not permit a wife as much as to mention the name of her husband in the presence of others. She must always use the pronoun " he " instead.[5]

[591] Though the Northwesterners of today have given up many of their ancient practices, they have not abandoned these rules of marital avoidance. Ladyženskij found them still in our own times. For a year after marriage the wife must live with strangers, during which time her husband may visit her only secretly. To be seen with her in public even years after marriage, he informs us, is tabooed.[6]

This avoidance includes even the children of the family, as we have seen in our section on " Parental Affection for Offspring " (pp. 149 f). Throughout the Caucasus a father is forbidden to manifest his affection for his child. The 593 Cherkess is forbidden even to speak of a child of a person present.[7] 602

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[1] *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Statth., etc.*, I, p. 388.

[2] *ibid.*

[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 285 ; Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.

[4] Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176.

[5] " Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[6] Ladyženskij, FT. p. 184 *note* ; Ladyženskij, " Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie, LXII (1930), pp. 242.

Similar *adats* forbid a couple to appear together before their parents or parents-in-law for a year after marriage,[8] and among the Abkhaz, even longer.[9]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. These rules of avoidance are found also among the Chechens, with only accidental differences. After marriage [591] the groom must leave his wife and family and live with some neighbours or relatives for two to three weeks.[10] But even afterwards, when he returns, a certain law of separation must be observed. Reineggs reporting on the customs in the eighteenth century mentions that the husband did not share a common room with his wife; the men, he tells us, lived apart from the children and the female members of the family.[11] Another *adat* forbids a husband to eat with [364] his wife in the presence of strangers.[12] And even in strictest privacy he will never speak directly to her in the second person: he usually will turn aside somewhat and instead of saying "Give me," he will say, "I am in need of."[13]

An Ingush father is not only forbidden to carry or fondle his child in public, but is not even allowed to call it by its name,[14] when others are present.

Jakovlev assures us that one can meet Ingushi today who have not seen 606 their mothers-in-law for fifteen years after the wedding,[15] for to do so would 602 be a serious violation of an Ingush custom. A wife is forbidden to mention the name of a first cousin of her husband in the presence of her parents- or brothers-in-law.[16] A husband may never inquire about his wife's relatives.[17] He will not speak with his wife in the presence of his parents or older brothers.[18] According to Dubrovin, a wife is strictly forbidden to speak with her father-in-law or any near male relative of her husband for a certain time after the wedding. She may speak with her mother-in-law only after a number of months have elapsed.[19]

There is also a certain avoidance observed by the husband and wife among 593 the mountain tribes of Daghestan. A Lesghian, for example, will never put his arm around his wife while dancing. Such signs of intimacy in the presence of others would be unthinkable.[20]

We have already mentioned the example of how a certain Boulat-khan 000 brought on himself the contempt of a group of men of Andi for carrying his son

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[7] Pallas, *l. c.*

[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186.

[9] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[10] Cf. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 56.

[11] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 41.

[12] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 170.

[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 438.

[14] Grabovskij, "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčai," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.

[15] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 57.

[16] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[17] *ibid.*

[18] *ibid.*

[19] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 434.

[20] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

000 in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances
606 among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard.
602 Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

585 The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia
591 the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to
593 separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her
602 family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to oppear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may
[342] visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

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[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 217.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians

We have given a number af examples (*supra*, p. 150) illustrating how Ossetine fathers and mothers are forbidden to take their children in their arms, or by hand, or offer them anything, in the presence of older members of the family. The Ossete would permit his child to die rather than transgress this rule. 600

A woman may never in her whole life speak to an older male member of her husbands's family, and if, for instance, the wife of a younger brother is busy at the hearth, an elder brother is not allowed to enter the room till she has finished her work.[35] 607 602

The neighbouring TURKS observe similar rules of avoidance. Thus the Karachai newly-weds live together for a few months and then the bride must return to her parental home for a period which may last two years. During this time her husband may visit her only secretly.[36] The Nogai will not speak to his wife in the presence of elderly people except in extreme necessity. The wife must always appear veiled before her husband for a year after marriage or till she gives birth to a child.[37] A Kumykian couple may never call each other by name ; instead they refer to each other as " him " and " her. "[38] 593 591 602

§ 2. PROBLEMS OF POSSIBLE ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RULES OF AVOIDANCE

We may divide the customs just described into several distinct groups. The following table will show that these rules of avoidance are genuinely Caucasian, found among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples. 591 583

(1) The first custom which calls for special attention is that requiring the bride to return to her family shortly after marriage and permitting the husband to visit her only secretly. We found this custom in Ossetia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Chechnia, Georgia and among the Caucasian Turks. The Cherkess bride, however, does not return to her own parents but goes to a neighbouring family. This temporary visit-marriage, though still not definitely proven, may be connected with matrilocality, and therefore this custom may be a vestige of a mother-right culture.

It is interesting that the Cherkess bride lives with *strangers* during this period and not with her own family. Ladyženskij[39] considers this practice a vestige of the original form of acquiring a wife, namely bride-stealing. When a bride was stolen she, naturally, had to hide, and here, he argues, we have a clear

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had a similar observance. Among the Kurds the bride would return to her family a few days after her marriage. Her stay with her parents, however, was very short, lasting about three days or so. After receiving some gifts from her family she returned to her husband Cf. Kosven, *l. c.*). The custom of the bride returning to her family after the wedding is also an Armenian practice (*ibid.*).

[35] Baddeley, *l.* c.

[36] Jankó, " Néprajzi, etc." Zichy, *Kaukázusi és középázsia utazásai*, p. 44.

[37] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 279.

[38] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 639.

[39] " Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie.* XLII (1930), p. 242.

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TABLE 18

Rules of Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidance

RULES	Abkhaz	Cherkess	Chechens	Lesghians	Mountaineers of Georgia	Ossetes	Karachai
1. Bride and groom must live separately after wedding	For a year or till first child	For a year or till first child	For two or three weeks	No	Three to fourteen days	For a month after the wedding	Live together one month, then separate
2. Bride returns to her own family after the wedding	Bride lives with strangers	Bride lives with strangers	No, but husband must live elsewhere 2 to 3 weeks	No	Yes	Yes, goes to own family some months after wedding	Two months to two years with own family
3. Husband may visit wife during this period only secretly	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
4. Married couples may not appear together in public or before strangers	Yes	Yes	Yes	No			
5. When living in same house after period of separation the couple may not share common quarters	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	
6. May not mention name of husband		May not do so before others	Husband avoids speaking directly to wife even in private	No	Wife may not call husband by name and vice versa		
7. Prohibition to manifest love for one's own child before others	Yes	Yes. Also may not speak of child of person present	Yes. Father may not carry or fondle it	Yes	Yes. May not carry or say friendly word to child	Yes. Rule is very strict	
8. Husband must avoid parents-in-law	For several years	For a year after marriage	Husband may never speak to mother-in-law	No		Yes	
9. Wife must avoid older male relatives of husband (or husband must avoid relatives of wife)			Wife may not mention name of husband's first-cousin	No	May not call them by name	Yes	
10. The couple may not be seen together by parents or parents-in-law	For a year after marriage	For a year after marriage	Yes			Yes, during period of separation	Yes, during period of separation

trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of 591
bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of 583
compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we connot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance.

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name 593
of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation 562
in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in 602
Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40]

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of 606
older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health 602
of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain.

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices [671]
known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

Chapter XII

Sexual Offenses

§ 1. CRIMES AND PENALTIES

684 628 The ancient customary law of the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS imposes a death penalty on the adulteress, allowing the adulterer to go unpunished. According to Cherkess *adats* she might be killed in the act or anytime afterwards,[1] while the male partner had always to be spared. It is true, Leontovič's excellent collection of customary laws maintains the very contrary, expressly stating that the adulterer had to be punished too,[2] but the penalty imposed on him is doubtless an Islamic innovation.[3]

[585] According to ancient customary law, the lot of the unfortunate bride found unchaste on her wedding night did not differ from that of the adulteress caught in the act. If the bride did not pass the virginity test, the angry groom would at once dismiss her, hand her over to her disgraced and furious father to be mutilated and finally killed.[4]

[836] In case of pregnancy before marriage, the penalty imposed on the lover was somewhat less than the equivalent of bloodwite,[5] about twenty-five head of cattle, as Longworth found it in the beginning of the last century.[6]

Customary law hardly distinguishes between rape and abduction, although the collections do, for rape generally has the same purpose as bride capture. Rape is severely punished, as severely as murder. If the ravisher's life has been spared, he is obliged to pay as much as Rs. 150 in reparation for the insult suffered by the victim's sib, and besides this fine, he is forced to pay the usual *kalym*. He is also forced to marry the girl, for, generally, once raped, she has no hope of finding another mate. If the victim happens to be of a higher social class than the attacker, there is no reconciliation possible. Vengeance alone can atone for such a hideous crime.[7]

Incest is considered a qualified crime and is sanctioned by the severest penalties. Formerly if a Cherkess dared to marry a girl of his fraternity (*tleush*)[8]

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[1] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 171.

[2] Leontovič, I, p. 254, § 109: "Imějuščij ženu i uličennyj v preljubodějanii, po zakonu lišaetsja žizni, no tot že postupok, soveršennyj cholopom, podvergaet ego nakazaniju sta udarami; čto nazyvaetsja chod-tazir."

[3] Dirr, AGKB, p. 82.

[4] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[5] Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[6] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 217.

[7] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 42 f.

[8] *Supra*, p. 55.

he would be sentenced to death by drowning. In the nineteenth century a heavy 684
fine of 200 oxen and immediate separation were insisted upon instead.[9] 628

The penalty for raping a boy before puberty is death. Of course, such cases
of perversion are very rare.[10] Likewise extremely rare are cases of homosexuality [839]
and bestiality,[11] except among certain Cherkess horse-breeders among whom
bestiality is more common and the penalty trivial or none at all.[12]

The *adats* have evidently gone through a distinct evolution, from unusual severity imposed exclusively on the adulteress to a more moderate form of punishment affecting both partners. Dubois de Montpéreux observed how a husband, who would clip his wife's hair for adultery, then cut off her ear, arm, or nose and finally kill her, fully in accord with ancient *adats*,[13] would thereby become a blood-enemy of his wife's relatives. He therefore usually preferred to divorce her instead[14] and have the *kalym* refunded.[15] Vasil'kov reported in the beginning of this century that among the Temirgoi illicit intercourse was extremely rare and that *both* partners would be punished very severely. If caught in the act, they would be buried up to their necks and then stoned to death.[16]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen customary law likewise imposes very severe penalties for adultery, as the following table clearly shows (Table No. 19).

The most serious sex offenses are those of rape and incest. If an Ingush 684
woman (married or single) is raped, the attacker may be killed on the spot. If 695
he manages to escape, a bitter blood-feud breaks out between the sibs of the [628]
offended and offender. In *adat* courts confession of the culprit or the accusation of the victim are considered undeniable evidence. The accused can prove himself not guilty by taking an oath, which must then be confirmed by the statements of five conjurors,[17] two of whom must be relatives. If the defendant hesitates to take the oath or fails to find sufficient conjurors who are convinced of his innocence (and hence who are not afraid of the supernatural sanction attached to such an oath), he must pay a fine of 24 cows if the victim happened to be a married woman,[18] and a horse worth 30 silver rubles, a ram and four
kettles of *arrack* if she happened to be unmarried.[19] The ravisher, as usual, must 684
marry the girl he attacked.[20] If the girl has already been engaged to someone, 584

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[9] McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 76.

[10] At least in Kabardia, according to Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[11] *ibid.*

[12] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[13] Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found throughout the Caucasus; today, of course, it is rare. It is indeed interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which legalized such mutilation in case of adultery (cf. H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258).

[14] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 132.

[15] Dubrovin, *l. c.*

[16] "Očerk byta Termirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.

[17] For the institution of *conjury* see above, pp. 155 f.

[18] Leontovič, II, p. 172, §§ 140, 142.

[19] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 144.

[20] Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 24. Other adat collections claim the very opposite, cf. Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 147.

684 [584] the *adats* give the engaged partner the right to dissolve the betrothal promises and to reclaim the *kalym* and engagement gifts.[21]

Seduction and attempted seduction are crimes almost as serious as rape and are punished accordingly.[22]

[835] The Chechens harbour an unusual abhorrence of incest. If an illegitimate child is born of an incestuous union, a heap of dirt is brought to the yard of the persons concerned, or sometimes to a public place, as a special protest of the community.[23] Generally speaking, penalties for sex offenses are inflicted on the culprit by the family, but, in the case of incest, the whole *community* protests. It is a crime that goes beyond the interests of the individual and joint-family.

A closer study of Table 19 will bring out three important facts regarding Chechen penalties for sexual offenses: (1) *both* the adulteress and adulterer are punished,[24] (2) they are killed on the spot, but the avenger thereby becomes a blood-enemy of the family of the person he kills, and (3) pardon and reconciliation are more or less the rule today, but not without heavy reparation and divorce.

TABLE 19

Penalty for Adultery according to Chechen Adats

Tribe Chechen	Penalty		Sources
	Adulteress	Adulterer	
Dzherakh and Nazranians	Recently: adulteress is divorced, must refund *kalym*, plus 48 cows to husband.	Husband may kill him in the act.	Leontovič, II, pp. 116 f, § 6; II, p. 118, § 14. Grabovskij, "Inguši," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 53 f.
	Formerly: husband cut adulteress' nose off, divorced her, received 23 head of cattle from her family.	Might be killed in act; if escaped, had to pay 23 head of cattle to offended husband.	
Terek Chechens	Husband may not kill adulteress; may bite nose off, divorce her.	Husband may kill adulterer in act; if pardons him, husband has right to 70 head of cattle.	Leontovič, II, p. 122, § 2. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9.
Kists	May not kill adulterous wife; may cut her nose off and divorce her; he receives 24 cows from her family.	Husband may kill adulterer in act, but obliged to pay bloodwite of 12 cows; if adulterer's sib takes vengeance on husband, must pay bloodwite of 24 cows. If adulterer escapes, he must pay husband 24 cows.	Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 23. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9.
Salati Aukh Ichkerians	Husband may cut her nose off and divorce her. He may not kill her.		Leontovič, II, p. 139, § 63; II, p. 113, § 9. Dirr, *l. c.*

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[21] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 145.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 173, § 149.

[23] Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, pp. 86 f.

[24] This seems to be a further evolution of the *adat* permitting the offended husband to punish his wife *with impunity*. The right to kill the adulterers most likely was not limited to the

If we now pass on to the Lesghian peoples we shall learn that each province, each district, and even each village has its own customary laws, but the differences are only accidental. Everywhere the *adats* agree at least in one point—in their severity. Death or its equivalent for any sex crime is the general rule. 684

To avoid useless repetitions and to facilitate comparison we present the Daghestanian *adats* in form of a table (Table 20).

Homosexual rape is doubtless a rare crime among these mountaineers, but laws referring to these offenses are a great help in interpreting the sanctions against sexual transgressions. If homosexual rape is punished as severely as natural rape, we have indubitable evidence that sexual taboos do not exist exclusively to safeguard the integrity of the hymen and to prevent bastard births, as one might perhaps be inclined to think from what we have said about virginal integrity.[25] We suspect, however, that laws regarding such rare sexual perversity as homosexuality and bestiality have not arisen from any special need for such sanctions but rather introduced through Islamic influence.[26] [839]

The table shows that throughout Daghestan (1) the *adats* expressly appoint the nearest male relatives to punish the culprits. [696]

(2) Adultery, fornication, rape, homosexuality—all are capital crimes, punishable with death, but admit of degrees. The most abhorred crimes are incest and rape, followed by adultery, fornication, homosexuality, and finally bestiality. "Incest" must, naturally, be understood in the Lesghian sense. We must not forget that when these *adats* were in force, the Lesghians were endogamists and that at most brother-sister and parent-child marriages were forbidden.

(3) Another remarkable agreement in the *adats* of the various Lesghian peoples is the obligation of killing *both* partners or *none* at all. If only one offender is avenged, the avenger himself becomes a blood-enemy of the relatives of the lover he happens to kill.

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husband. In the official report of May 28, 1870 we read: "May 28, a native of Netsi [in Chechnia] of this district, a boy 13 years of age, Nika-Akhma Kurban-ogdy, having caught his mother in an adulterous union with a co-villager, Suleyman Mahomed-ogdy, stabbed the adulterer, who later died from the wounds received." *Cf.* "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, IV (1870), p. 80.

[25] *Supra*, p. 126.

[26] Islamic law goes into the smallest details and rarest forms of sexual transgressions.

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TABLE 20
Lesghian Adats regarding

Locality		Customary penalty for adultery and fornication						
		Death Penalty Possible		Conditions for the lawful killing of offenders				In only one partner is killed, avenger = murderer**
Province	Naibate or District	Male Offender	Female	Lawful Avenger*	In flagranti	Must kill both offenders or none	Other Conditions	
Avar	Tsatanykh Naibate	+	+	Husband, father, brother, or son	+	+		+
	Bakhlukh N.	+	+	Husband, father, brother, son	+	−		
	Koisubulun N.	+	+	Husband, father, son, grandson, nephew, uncle	+	−		+ −
	Khunzakh N.	+	+	Husband, father, son, grandson, nephew, uncle	+	−		+ −
Gunib	Tilitl-Hidatl N.	+	+	Husband, father, son	+	−		+ −
	Kuyada N.	+	+	Husband, brother, son, cousin	+	−		+ −
	Tleiserukh N.	+	+	Husband, father, brother	+	+		+ −
	Andalal N.	+	+	Husband, brother, son, father	+	+		+ −
Samur		+	+	Husband, father, brother, son	−	+		+
Dargwa	Usisha District	+	+	Husband or relative	+	+		+
	Mikakhi D.	+	+	Husband or relative	+	+		+
	Hyuraki D.	+	+	Husband or relative	+	+		+
	Mugn D.	+	+	Husband or relative	−	+		+
	Akusha D.	+	+	Husband or relative	+	+		+
	Tsudakhar D.	+	+	Husband or relative	+	+		+
	Balchar D.	+	+					
	Tsumkan	+	+					
Kurin		+	+	Husband, father, brother	+	+		+ −
Kaitago-Tabassaran	Mahal Kara-kaitag	+	+	Husband	+	+	+	+
	North Tabassaran	+	+	Husband			+	+
	Mahal Terekeme							
	Mahal Urdzhamul						+	

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* The LAWFUL AVENGER is always a relative of the *female* offender, or in the case of rape, the person attacked.

** By IF ONLY ONE PARTNER IS KILLED, AVENGER = MURDERER we mean that

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Adultery, Fornication, and Rape

Customary Penalty for Rape								
Natural Rape				Homosexual				
See supra, Table on abduction***	Offender may be killed	Banishment	Must pay a fine	May be killed	Banishment	Must pay fine	Number of footnote	Sources (Adat Collections)
+								ADOiZO, 472 f, §§ 24 f; Dirr, AGKB, 71.
+							1	ADOiZO, 455, §§ 17 f; AGKB, 70.
+							2	ADOiZO, 439, § 20; AGKB, 70.
+							2	ADOiZO, 439, § 20; AGKB, 70.
+							3	ADOiZO, 338 f, § 20; AGKB, 73.
+							4	ADOiZO, 914, § 54; 303 f, § 18, AGKB, 72 f.
+							5	ADOiZO, 391, § 19; AGKB, 72.
+							6	ADOiZO, 278, §§ 24 f; AGKB, 71.
								ADOiZO, 546 f, §§ 17—20; 530, § 15; AGKB, 74.
+				+		+	7	ADO, 16, 105.
	+	+	+	+	+	+	8	ADO, 16, 51 f.
							9	ADO, 16, 21, 91 f, 105.
				+		+	10	ADO, 16, 52, 65, 105.
	+		+	+			11	ADO, 16, 38, 105.
+	+		+	+		+	12	ADO, 16, 105, 117 f.
								ADO, 16, 65, 105; ADOiZO, 88, § 116; 121, § 82.
								ADO, 16, 65, 105; ADOiZO, 88, § 116; 121, § 82.
	+			+			13	AJuDO, 8 f.
							14	AJuDO, 43 f; ADOiZO, 575, §§ 10—13; AGKB, 75.
	+		+				15	AJuDO, 76.
							16	ADOiZO, 548, § 19; AGKB, 75.
	+						17	ADOiZO, 48.

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if the husband, father, son, etc. of the woman kills only one of the offenders, he is regarded as a murderer and therefore incurs the same penalty.

*** *Supra*, p. 94, Table 12.

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(1) The partner that is spared is banished for 10 years. ADOiZO, pp. 472 f, §§ 24 f.

(2) If one partner is killed, the other must at least be wounded. If one partner is totally spared, the avenger becomes a blood-enemy (*qanly*) of the relatives of the person he killed unless he can find 25 conjurors who will swear that the two were caught in the act. ADOiZO, p. 455, §§ 17 f.

(3) If the adulterer is killed while the adulteress manages to escape, the avenger becomes a *qanly* if he fails to declare his wife guilty. Cf. ADOiZO, p. 338 f, § 20.

(4) The cousin referred to in the *adat* as a lawful avenger is meant any cousin to the third degree on father's or mother's side. If a husband kills only the male partner, declaring his wife innocent, the avenger becomes a *qanly*; if he declares her guilty of adultery, he is free. Cf. ADOiZO, p. 914, § 54; 303 f, § 18; Dirr, AGKB, p. 72 f.

(5) If the avenger kills one partner, he must at least wound the other. ADOiZO, p. 391, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 72.

(6) If one partner escapes, he or she, as the case may be, is fined and banished, and his (or her) property destroyed. The avenger may spare one partner if later on he can prove that *both* were guilty. ADOiZO, p. 278, §§ 24 f; Dirr, AGKB, p. 71.

(7) If both partners are spared, the adulteress becomes a blood-enemy of her husband as well as her own family. All her property goes over to her husband (ADO, pp. 16, 105), and a fine of one ox must be paid to the *dzhamat* (community). The adulterer in this case becomes a blood-enemy of the husband and of the adulteress' sib (ADO, p. 105), and just as the adulteress he too is obliged to pay a fine of one ox to the community (*ibid*). In case of fornication, the offenders are punished according to the *adats* regarding elopement (ADO, p. 105). Penalty for homosexual rape is blood-enmity and a fine of one ox to the sib of the person attacked (ADO, pp. 105 f). The other cases of rape are treated as a case of Bride capture (ADO, p. 105). A woman is obliged to scream when she is attacked, otherwise she is suspected of adultery or fornication. She may free herself of this suspicion and the penalty involved by finding six male relatives who are willing to take the *khatun-talikh* (an oath, the sanction for perjury being an obligatory divorce). Attempted rape and even a "suspicious approach" is punished like actual rape (ADO, p. 105).

(8) The penalty imposed on the adulterer is the same as that imposed on a person who has raped a married woman (ADO, p. 52). In case of fornication, both partners must pay a fine of four oxen each to the community (*ibid.*).

(9) If both partners are spared, each must pay a fine of one ox to the *turgak* ("police" department) and two oxen to the community, and both are banished for a year. The offended husband has a right to divorce his adulterous wife; if he makes use of the right, the adulterer is obliged to pay an additional Rs. 100 as compensation to her husband. (Cf. ADO, pp. 16, 91 f, 105.)

(10) The adulterous woman must pay a fine of four oxen. The penalty imposed on the adulterer is the same as in rape (ADO, p. 52). Homosexual rape is punished with death (blood-enmity), and one ox must be given the relatives of the person attacked (ADO, p. 65).

(11) If the adulterer and adulteress are spared, they must each pay a fine of seven oxen to the community. If the husband uses his right to divorce his unfaithful wife, she and her lover become blood-enemies of her family (ADO, pp. 16, 38, 105). In case of fornication, the man must marry the girl, otherwise he will become a *qanly* of her sib (ADO, p. 38). Anyone who rapes a woman is obliged to give one ox to the relatives of the victim and pay a fine of seven oxen to the community, besides incurring blood-enmity (ADO, p. 38).

(12) If the avenger did not catch the two offenders in the act, one eye-witness is sufficient to inflict the same penalty as for elopement; both must pay a fine of two oxen to the community and seven kettles each worth Rs. 2 to the *turgak* (ADO, pp. 16, 105, 118).

(13) If the woman escapes, her husband may divorce her for adultery; if her partner escapes, he becomes a *qanly* of the offended husband and is obliged to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 250. A husband may spare the life of his adulterous wife provided that later on he can prove her guilt (AJuDO, pp. 8 f). In case of fornication, the avenger may spare the life of the girl, leaving vengeance or mercy to her own family (*ibid.*). The penalty is the same when

the person raped is a minor or an adult: blood-enmity or bloodwite of Rs. 250 684
(AJuDO, p. 9).

(14) If the adulteress escapes, she becomes the blood-enemy of her husband as well as of her own family. The same holds for her lover. The offended husband is allowed to kill his wife and spare the adulterer, but not vice versa, without becoming a *qanly*. In case of fornication, if both partners are not killed, they have the strict obligation of marrying or else become outcasts and are banished (AJuDO, pp. 43 f).

(15) If a man is accused of adultery and fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors, the adulteress may be killed by her husband. If a husband decides to kill his adulterous wife, her lover automatically becomes a blood-enemy. The adulterer can choose to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 60 and a fine of six head of cattle instead. The fine is paid to the district (AJuDO, p. 26). If the father of a girl insists, the man who had intercourse with her must marry her, otherwise he must pay a fine of six oxen and becomes a blood-enemy of the girl's family (AJuDO, p. 26). The penalty for raping a widow is three head of cattle. If the woman attacked is married, the offender becomes a blood-enemy if he fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors (Cf. AJuDO, p. 26).

(16) The adulteress may be divorced (ADOiZO, p. 548, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 75). If the offended husband makes use of this right, the adulterer must pay a bloodwite and is banished for 20—30 days (*ibid.*).

(17) The fornicators are obliged to marry, otherwise they may be killed by the girl's family. Anyone who rapes a girl, widow, divorcée, or a married woman is obliged to marry her, otherwise he too may be killed (AJuDO, p. 48).

In pre-Russian times it was sufficient if the husband had learned by mere hearsay that his wife had been unfaithful: he could at once inflict the death-blow without further investigation.[27] Although during the Russian occupation the right to kill one's adulterous wife still existed (namely, if the wife had been caught in the act or if she had fled with her lover on being detected, or if she had been found guilty by the people's court), the husband seldom made use of his right. A wife was generally divorced, and as compensation, the offended [586] husband kept all her property.[28] We say that she was "generally" divorced, for, if we go through the various criminalogical reports of the Russian (pre-Soviet) times, we find not a few cases where the right to kill has been actually made use of. To mention but a few of these official reports: "December 28, 1869, a citizen of the aul Orot, of the Province of Avaria, by the name of Gamzat Labazan-ogdy, stabbed his brother to death because Ali (his brother) had committed adultery with Gamzat's wife, whose name is Patimat Mutalilov-kizy."[29] Or again, "December 12, 1869, a native of the aul Arsug... having caught his wife, Kifi Rodzheb-kizy, in an adulterous union with his co-villager, Ramazan Adzhab-Palay-ogdy, killed her with the help of her own kinsman, Dzhabrank Tseyd-ogdy."[30]

The Lesghians love to repeat the ballad of Nika Bulat. It is a tragic tale 684
indeed, but a tale that clearly conveys the deep conviction of these mountaineers 538
of the heinousness of adultery. Nika Bulat, we must remember, was a righteous 837

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[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 195 f.

[28] Similar changes are noticeable throughout the Caucasus.

[29] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 19.

[30] *ibid.*

684 [538] [837] man. He loved his mother as every faithful son should. In fact, he loved her with an exceptionally deep filial love. But alas! How painful it must have been for him to learn that his mother, whom he so worshipped, had an illicit lover! His heart burst with grief and rage. Nika Bulat at once rushed to the adulterer's home; his eyes flashed with rage as he whipped out his dagger and plunged it into the lover's heart. Nika Bulat then hacked off his head and hands, and took these gory limbs and head to his mother, and staring at her for a moment as if he had gone mad, dropped them at her feet. On seeing her furious son and especially the gruesome sight before her, she burst into tears, but tears that only served to make Nika Bulat's blood boil with rage even still more violently. With one thrust of his dagger, his mother lay dying beside the head and hands she once so wrongfully loved to clasp. But that is not the end of the tragedy. Nika Bulat's sisters were present and witnessed all. They fell down on their knees, weeping bitterly on their mother's breast, as she bled and gasped. But Nika Bulat did not allow his sisters to weep. That same dagger was whipped out once again, and like a flash plunged into the heart of one of his sisters, and then into the heart of the other, thus putting an end to their sobs, sobs that were, in eyes of Nika Bulat, an approval of their mother's crime. For this great act of heroism Nika Bulat was admired by all and proclaimed the head of the village.[31]

[834] This abhorrence of sexual crimes is brought out further by the fact that any accidental touch of the bare hand of a strange woman is considered a violation, and both are regarded as "unclean."[32] Especially in dances all physical contact must be scrupulously avoided, no matter how small and crowded the room may be. Baddeley describes how the dancers curve in and out within a few inches of each other, but never is there even the slightest bodily contact, "the breach of this observance, even inadvertently, leading to many a fatal quarrel. A husband, brother or lover, looking on with jealous eye, would whip out his 'kinjal' at the mere suspicion of a touch . . ."[33] A further reflexion of this extreme sensitivity is the considerably large number of *adats* which make no distinction between mere contact and actual rape. In the Districts of Hyuraki, Usisha, and Mugn, for example, actual rape, attempted rape, and a mere suspicious touch or approach are all equally punished.[34]

684 838 Homosexuality is punished as severely as voluntary illicit relations between persons of the opposite sex. To mention but a few examples: in Hyuraki District, the two persons caught in the act may be killed on the spot by their relatives, or else, if spared, each must pay a fine of three oxen to the community, and both persons are banished for a year, not to mention other penalties;[35] in

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[31] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 75 f.

[32] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semjnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[34] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 65, 91, 105.

[35] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 92. To free one's self from a charge of homosexuality 40 conjurors are required just as in the case of murder *(ibid.)*.

Akusha, Tsudakhar, Mugn, Nikakhya, Hyuraki, Usisha, and Sirgua the penalty for homosexual rape is the same as that for murder.[36] 684

[838]

Bestiality is not punished as severely as other sexual crimes. Generally, the person is merely fined; he is never killed for the act.[37] [839]

If a maiden or a widow becomes pregnant, she may secretly break into the home of her seducer, give birth to the child, and as a result, he must marry her. This practice, however, is not an *adat* but a practice encouraged by the Šâfi'itic school.[38]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In ancient Georgia a husband had the right to kill his adulterous wife as well as her lover; a father had the right to kill the accomplice of any of his children.[39] In more recent times, the male partner was generally spared by the Pshavs,[40] Khevsurs,[41] and the Tushi,[42] otherwise the avenger himself would become a blood-enemy. In Svanetia illicit intercourse was not punished with death if the lovers happened to be of the same village.[43] Among the Svans, later on, the avenger of an act of illicit intercourse was obliged to pay half of the usual *tsor* (bloodwite),[44] and this very sum (besides a refund of the *kalym*) had to be paid to him by the family of his adulterous wife,[45] so that to become a blood-enemy in such a case did not involve great inconvenience. In Khevsuria, for example, if the life of the adulteress was spared, she would be subjected to indescribable torture. Her cheeks would be slit, her nose, ears or arms would be amputated and hair cut oft.[46] This sort of punishment has not yet completely disappeared, though it has become very rare. Baddeley speaking of his host in Georgia writes: "Our host told us that his own uncle, having served a sentence of imprisonment in Tiflis, came back to find his wife living with another man ... He cut off one of her ears, her nose and her right hand; but that was some time ago."[47] Today the penalty for adultery is not half as severe: generally the wife is divorced and the *kalym* must be refunded to the husband together with half of the usual bloodwite.

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[36] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 21.

[37] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 52, 92, 106, 119.

[38] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 168.

[39] Code of King Vakhtang VI, § 42, Karst ed. p. 92 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 94.

[41] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[42] *ibid.*

[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 94: "Pravilo, po kotoromu preljuboděi i soblazniteli podležali krovnoj mesti, terpělo u pšavov isključenie v tom slučae, kogda vinovnymi javjalis' odnosel'čane — rodstveniki. Město ubijstva v etom slučae zanimala prekraščenie vsjakago obščenija i nerědko istreblenie ličnoj sobstvennosti." Just why should illicit intercourse be more severely punished if persons of different villages are in question? It would seem that the Svanian rule of local endogamy lessens the guilt; that is, the intercourse takes place between two *possible* mates. Moreover, blood-feuds between relatives are, as a general rule, impossible.

[44] Dirr, AGKB, p. 83.

[45] *ibid.*

[46] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109; Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 312.

[47] Baddeley, *l. c.*

684 This relatively mild punishment 1 has been introduced mainly through Christian influence and on account of the dearth of women caused by female infanticide.[48] 2

[847] The reports regarding the OSSETINE penalties are indeed confusing, until the proper local and temporal distinctions are made. Thus according to an ancient *adat* of the "frontier" Ossetes, as some Russian writers call them, the avenger of adultery would become the blood-enemy of the relatives of the adulterer. Later on a new customary law arose, giving the husband full right to kill the adulterer as well as the adulteress, with impunity.[49] The Ossetes of Tagaursk and Kurtalinsk usually killed the adulterer and threw the unfaithful wife out of the house.[50] The Alaghirs, on the contrary, were more merciful toward the adulterer and less so toward the adulteress. He was obliged to give the offended husband a horse and saddle, and then give him a feast, whereas the woman was mutilated (her nose was cut off) and then sent back to her father. If her husband forgave her, her family had to give him a horse and a gun.[51] In the collection of *adats* of 1841 (§ 41), the adulterer could be killed with impunity if caught *in flagranti*, whereas in the last decades of the nineteenth century Kovalevskij learned that the adulterer might indeed be wounded but not killed.[52] Inspite of these variations, *all* Ossetes have always believed that adultery was a very serious crime.

Formerly even mere suspicion justified the jealous husband to kill his wife and the suspected lover.[53] If he spared her life, he punished her publicly, bound her naked to a donkey and drove her through the village, whipping both the donkey and the miserable culprit, while the children and the girls of the *aul* would throw filth at her and sing jeering songs.[54]

Formerly to accept anything less than blood (that is, bloodwite) was considered a disgrace and even unlawful.[55]

The penalties for fornication were also very severe. The girl was set upon a donkey, her face to the tail and thus publicly driven through the village, jeered and spat upon by her fellow-villagers. And if she gave birth to an illegitimate [843] child, the baby would be killed. If the mother's life was spared, she could marry only a widower,[56] or, of course, her lover.[57] Sometimes the lover was even forced to marry her or at least pay the usual *kalym*.[58]

684 The TURKS of the Caucasus are also very merciless when it comes to punishing adultery. If a Kumyk or Nogai husband or near relative catches a woman in the act of adultery, he may kill both culprits on the spot. If the

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[48] Dirr, *l. c.*

[49] Pfaff's article in SSKG, II, pp. 274 f., cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 80.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 41

[51] Leontovič, II, pp. 44, 38.

[52] Kovalevski, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 349, *note* 1.

[53] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, pp. 204 f.

[54] Dirr, *l. c.*

[55] Karginov, *l. c.*

[56] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[57] A. H. Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[58] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 339.

1 [usually divorce, refund of bride price, and half of usua
bloodwite--Analyst]

2 [in Georgia--Analyst]

adulterer and the adulteress escape, they both become blood-enemies of the husband and must pay a bloodwite of Rs. 100.[59] 684

In case of fornication, marriage between the two lovers becomes obligatory. The lover may divorce his wife immediately after marriage, but by so doing he incurs the obligation of paying the customary ***kebin-khak.***[60] If the girl is too young to marry, the man must wait till she becomes old enough.[61] In case of incest, the regulations set down in the *šarīʿa* are followed rather than the *adats.*[62]

Pederasty and sodomy occur very seldom among the North Caucasians and Ossetes, whereas they are rather frequent among the neighbouring Karachai and Taulu.[63] 838]

The KURDS also have the practice of cutting off the adulteress' ears and nose.[64]

§ 2. PROBLEMS AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. Historical Reconstruction

Despite the many dissimilarities we have noticed in the customary penal laws of the various peoples of North Caucasus, it is quite possible that the differences are merely different *stages* of one and the same ***adat.*** (1) According to the oldest customary laws, the adulteress had to be punished, and she alone. She was punished if she had been caught in the act, or even if the husband had learned of her infidelity from others. Sometimes mutilation (nose, ears or arms were cut off, hair clipped, cheeks slit, etc.) preceded the execution; sometimes, after thus being mutilated, she was sold into slavery. [567] (2) It seems that later on, at least in some parts of North Caucasus, she might be mutilated, but not killed. If the jealous husband would nevertheless take her life, he would become a blood-enemy of her relatives. (3) Later still, especially, but not exclusively, through Islamic influence, the adulterer too had to be punished. He would have to pay a certain sum to the offended husband, a sum sufficient to reconcile himself with the relatives of his adulterous wife, whom he had slain and thereby become their blood-enemy. The ***adats*** which insist on the ***death*** of the adulterer seem to be relatively recent. (4) As a precaution against over-hasty and unjunst[1] action, the husband was obliged to kill both partners or none at all. To slay only the adulteress or only the adulterer was now looked upon as suspicious and even unjust, and therefore the avenger himself became a blood-enemy of the relatives of the partner he happened to kill. The insistence on killing the culprits *in the act* seems also to be a later innovation, a means to check false suspicion and

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[59] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 13; Leontovič, II, p. 205, § 13. See also N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terkskij Sbornik* II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 75 f.

[60] The ***kebin-khak*** is generally Rs. 100. Cf. Semenov, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 15, § 10.

[62] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 13.

[63] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 340.

[64] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc.," Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középásiai utázásai*, p. 6:.

[1] [Sic-- Analyst]

684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among [832] the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every [836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than [776] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort [764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), 837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual 83 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan 574 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

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[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.

[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.

[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.

[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.

[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.

[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.

[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

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writings of the Arabs al-Mas'ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father 837
offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] 836
claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the 848
other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74]
and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true 834
solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den 567
richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern
der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der 837
freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76]
In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen
are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious
prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in [786]
regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss
the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test,
and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration,
virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious
difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have 837
mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in 574
public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh 836
unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may ... do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait été esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques vallées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, op. *cit.*, *II*, p. 14.

837 836 574 to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or, as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

936 There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux . . ."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the [582] relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

182 687 All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.

Chapter XIII

Patria Potestas

All North Caucasian peoples recognize one head of the family. In the present 593 chapter we shall study the extent of this authority. Does the father prossess *absolute* power over the members of his family ?

§ 1. THE RIGHT TO SELL CHILDREN INTO SLAVERY

Since slavery was abiloshed in 1867, we must have recourse to sources prior 567 to that date.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to an *adat* of the 595 Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 139), the father does not have a right to sell or give away his sons.[1] However, Longworth, who spent a year among these people, expressly states the contrary. " The right," he says, " is never disputed, though it is considered disreputable for an ouzden, or even a freeman in good circumstances, to sell his children to slave merchants."[2] A certain greedy Cherkess once sold his brother's children whose guardian he was, for which, we are told, " he was universally execrated,"[3] though, evidently, he had the *right* to do so. In other words, it is very essential to distinguish between the *right* to sell children into slavery and the actual *practice*, which is strongly discouraged.

Taitbout de Marigny, who had visited the Cherkess several decades before Longworth, left us an incomplete report of what he had observed. The Cherkess are supposed to have sold their sons and daughters for Turkish goods with absolute indifference.[4] His visit, however, was too brief and superficial. When speaking of " indifference " Taitbout de Marigny should have made a second very important distinction, namely, whether the children thus sold into slavery belonged to the same social class as the father or whether they were born of a secondary or slave wife. Longworth makes this very important observation : " The great proportion . . . of women who are exported are of the fourth or servile class . . ."[5]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechens have no *adats* which determine or limit in any way the authority of the father over his children.[6] Potocki describes the sad story of an Ingush who sold his daughter

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[1] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 139.

[2] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 279 f.

[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.

[4] *Voyage en Circassie en 1818*, p.6.

[5] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 279.

[6] Leontovič, II, pp. 96, 112, § 8.

593 567 for some Persian cloth worth Rs. 240. While the deal was still going on, the girl fled and hanged herself.[7]

We have found no purely Lesghian *adats* prohibiting or sanctioning the selling of children into slavery, in spite of the despotic authority of the father.[8] Although we do not know the attitude of customary law in this regard, we do know that the *šarī'a* strictly forbids not only the selling of a fellow-Mohammedan into slavery, but expressly condemns the selling of one's own children.[9]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In times of famine the mountain tribes of Georgia used to sell their children; the Svans, for example, "for 700 to 1.200 francs each" (Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 147).

It was this same poverty that led their neighbours, the Tualti (SOUTHERN OSSETES), to kill their girls and sell their boys.[10]

In short, everywhere in the Caucasus the *right* to sell children is not disputed; the practice, however, is *rare*, except in time of absolute necessity or in regard to children who are not considered fully members of the family.

§ 2. JUS VITAE NECISQUE

593 682 [627] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly mention that a father does not have the right over life and death of his children.[11] However, he may condemn a *perverse* member of the family to death: he must, of course, first chastize him, then disinherit him, and finally, if all these means fail and the son remains incorrigeable, the father, acting as supreme judge of the family, may hand him over to a servant to be killed.[12] In spite of these *adats* it seems that formerly the father actually had the right to kill his child at will.[13]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen adat collection of 1843 tells us that "there is no customary law defining or limiting the authority of the father over his children."[14] However, in practice, he enjoys this unlimited [858] authority only as long as the children are small. Once his sons have grown up, they may take vengeance on their own father for killing one of their brothers.[15] It is quite possible that at one time the father actually possessed the *jus vitae necisque*, a right that had disappeared long before the *adat* collections of the past century were made. By no means does a husband have a right over the life of his wife.[16] According to a customary law of 1844 for Vladikavkaz District (Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi, and Karabulak tribes), if a husband kills his wife, he must pay a bloodwite of 12 cows to her relatives if she has a child, and 85 cows if she has no children. Besides this payment he becomes a social outcast.[17] 593/682

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[7] *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 123.

[8] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), p. 18.

[9] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 39.

[10] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 138.

[12] *ibid.* See also Leontovič, I, p. 152, § 81.

[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 168 f; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 56.

[14] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[15] M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, p. 18; Leontovič, II, pp. 112 (§ 8), 251 (§ 143), 258 (§ 206): Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 96.

The *adats* of the Lesghian mountaineers regarding the penalty for filicide and uxoricide fall into four distinct classes: (1) no penalty, (2) a very small fine, (3) conditional or optional death penalty, (4) obligatory death penalty.

If the father kills a son or daughter he goes unpunished in Gamri and in Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[18] in Tilitl-Hidatl (Gunib Province),[19] in the Naibate of Kuyada (Gunib Province), [20] and in other parts of Daghestan.

He is obliged to pay a relatively small fine, for example, in Sirgua District (Dargwa Province),[21] in Upper Kaitago,[22] Andalal (Gunib Province),[23] Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[24] Ratlu Akhvakh,[25] etc.

A few examples of a conditional death penalty would be: for instance, in Kurin Province a father who has killed one of his sons is obliged to pay a bloodwite only if the victim happened to have his own economically independent family, the bloodwite going to his children (if he has killed a daugther, he becomes a blood-enemy only if she happened to be married, the bloodwite in this latter case going to her husband);[26] or again, in Hyuraki District of the Province of Dargwa, a father becomes a blood-enemy only if the son he murdered is himself married and has children.[27]

By "optional death penalty" we understand all those *adats* which leave it to the children or heirs of the victim as to whether the murderer should be considered a *qanly* ("blood-enemy") or not. Such adats are found in the naibates of Tleiserukh,[28] Tilitl-Hidatl,[29] and Mikah (Dargwa Province).[30]

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[16] Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 99. Even in case of adultery the husband generally may only divorce and at most mutilate her (cf. Table 19).

[17] Leontovič, II, p. 115, § 6. It is an interesting fact that sometimes, as in this case, the wife becomes more detached from her own sib and more attached to that of her husband by giving birth to a child. In the latter case the bloodwite is only a third as high as the former.

[18] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 49. Adaty Dagestanskoj Oblasti i Zakatal'skago Okruga, pp. 588, § 10; Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58. We shall abreviate this collection of *adats* by ADOiZO.

[19] ADOiZO, p. 337, 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58. Some villages of Tilitl-Hidatl impose capital punishment on a murderer of a son or daughter.

[20] ADOiZO, p. 313, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[22] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 34: the murderer is obliged to pay a fine of one three-year-old ox to the district.

[23] The fine is only Rs. 6.

[24] ADOiZO, p. 597, § 10; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[25] ADOiZO, p. 178, § 38; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[26] ADOiZO, p. 510, § 13; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.

[27] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 86.

[28] ADOiZO, p. 388 f, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 64 f.

[29] ADOiZO, pp. 337 f, §§ 31 f.

[30] ADOiZO, p. 136, § 42; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 67.

593 682 (626) The last class of *adats* demand blood for blood. Such customary laws are found, for example, in the Dargwa Province : in Usisha District,[31] Tsudakhar,[32] Akusha District,[33] and in some towns of the naibate of Tilitl-Hidatl,[34] and in the Samur District.[35] The same holds if a husband kills his wife : he becomes a blood-enemy of the wife's relatives and sometimes of his own children. In Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[36] Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[37] Mahal Gamri (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[38] and in the Province of Samur,[39] a husband who has murdered his wife becomes a blood-enemy of her relatives. In Mahal Gamri he becomes a blood-enemy of his children as well.[40]

Ancient GEORGIAN *adats* permit the murderer to go unpunished, the crime being "left to the judgement of God."[41] A Khevsur who murders his wife is obliged to pay a bloodwite of five cows to her relatives.[42] The Svan custom of tying a large stone about the neck of a person who murdered one of his own kin (as a sign of excommunication) is most likely of Christian origin. It reminds us very much of a similar penalty for parricide in the Old Testament. It may, less probably though, have come to Svanetia through Islamism, for Mohammedanism has borrowed this form of excommunication from the Old Testament.[43]

614 The neighbouring KUMYKS do not punish a man for murdering his child either.[44] Uxoricide, however, never goes unpunished ; the murderer becomes a *qanly*[1] of the victim's sib.[45]

The ancient Indo-Europeans used to place the newborn child on the ground and then invite the father to pick it up, as an official recognition of the child as his own and at the same time expressing his wish not to use his right to kill it.[46] According to OSSETINE customary law, a father may kill his child with

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[31] ADOiZO, p. 225, § 47 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61 ; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 102.

[32] ADOiZO, p. 244, § 40 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 61 f ; "Adaty Dauginskich Obščestv," pp. 113 f.

[33] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 35. Also in Balhar, Tsumkan, according to ADOiZO, p. 115, § 43 ; cf. Dirr, p. 61.

[34] ADOiZO, p. 337, § 12 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 60.

[35] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 16 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.

[36] ADOiZO, pp. 597 f, §§ 14 f ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.

[37] ADOiZO, p. 583, § 9 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.

[38] ADOiZO, pp. 588 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.

[39] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 66.

[40] ADOiZO, pp. 599 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.

[41] Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, II, p. 205 ; Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, II, p. 340 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 59. These three authors base their assertion on King Vakhtang's Code. in § 78 we read : "...the case must be judged according to the *sdzhuli-kanoni*". Perhaps in the last analysis "sdzhuli-kanoni" can be identified with God ; but actually these two words refer to the ecclesiastical laws codified by Patriarch John the Scholastic under Emperor Justinian (cf. Code of King Vakhtang VI, ed. Karst, p. 119, *note* 1).

[42] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 184.

[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 40.

[44] Leontovič, II, p. 212, § 35 (an *adat* of 1865).

[45] "Adaty žitelej kumykskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 5.

[46] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 309.

[1] [i.e. blood-enemy --Analyst]

impunity, just as their ancestors could.[47] A husband may not sell or give his 593
wife away.[48] Sometimes he may not kill his wife[49] even as a well deserved [682]
punishment. At the most he may in such a case chastize and mutilate her.[50]

§ 3. MATERNAL AUTHORITY

What authority does the mother enjoy in a North Caucasian family? We have already touched upon this question, when speaking about the education of children (*supra*, pp. 147 f) and the rights and privileges of women (*supra*, pp. 159 f). As a general rule throughout the Caucasus[51] the mother has by far more authority over her daughters than over her sons, more over her small boys than those of age.[52]

That is doubtless the case with the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly say that the mother enjoys much more authority over her daughters than over her sons.[53] That she has less authority or none at all with her grown-up boys is clear from the "Adat Collection of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 135). In spite of the exaggeration contained in this particular *adat* it is worth quoting: as soon as the sons become of age, the mother "hardly enjoys the respect which nature herself implanted in man's heart, the respect for her to whom the sons owe their very existence."[54]

In NORTHEAST CAUCASIA, a Chechen mother, though exerting much influence on her children, enjoys absolutely no *right* over their person.[55] The relation between mother and child among the Lesghians is regulated by Islamic law,[56] which however differs very little from that of the other North Caucasians. According to Islamic law, the mother has more rights over her girls than over her boys; the girls are subject to her till they become of age; the boys, only till they are seven or nine years old.[57] Her authority can be compared to that of a tutor, and generally the father will not interfere. The right over the person of the child is everywhere in the Caucasus a right exclusively enjoyed by the father.

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[47] Leontovič, II, p. 26, § 98.

[48] Leontovič, II, p. 27, § 103.

[49] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 348.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 26, § 101.

[51] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 145: Cto kasaetsja prav roditelej nad dočer'mi, to takovyja kak u čečencev, tak i u všech drugich gorskich plemen, soveršenno odinakovy."

[52] Leontovič, II, pp. 250 (§ 134), 251 (§ 147).

[53] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 147.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 250 (§ 135), II, p. 112 (8).

[55] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.

[57] Bergstrasser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 87.

MAP III

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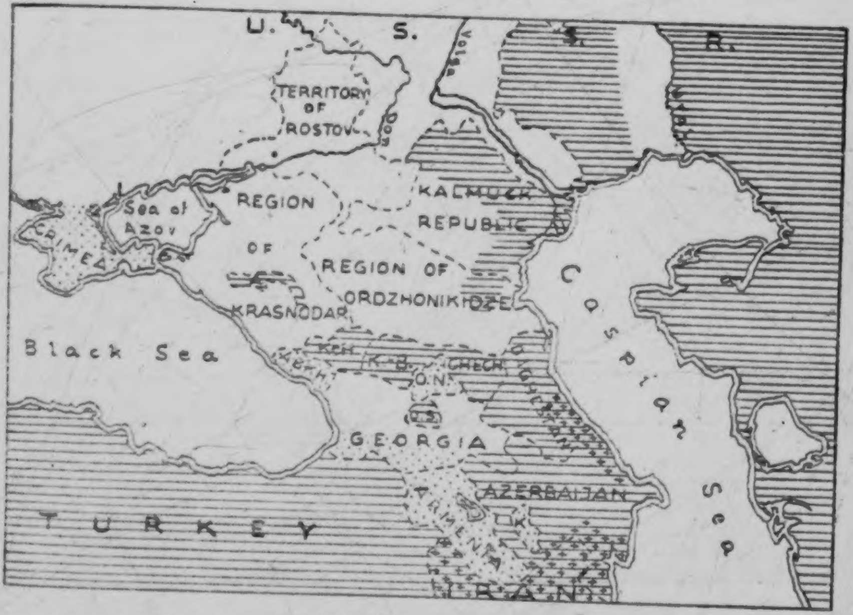
Islamism in the Caucasus and Neighbouring Territory


U. S. S. R.
Volga
TERRITORY OF ROSTOV
Don
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
REGION OF KRASNODAR
KALMUCK REPUBLIC
REGION OF ORDZHONIKIDZE
Black Sea
Kch.
Abkh.
K.B.
CHECH.
O.N.
O.S.
GEORGIA
DAGHESTAN
AZERBAIJAN
ARMENIA
K.
Caspian Sea
TURKEY
IRAN

Abbreviations: A. = Autonomous Territory of the Adyghé
Abkh. = Abkhazia
Chech. = Chechnia
K. = Karabagh
K. B. = Kabarda-Balkaria
Kch. = Karachai
O. N. = North Ossetia
O. S. = South Ossetia

Sunnites in the majority ═══
Shiites in the majority ++++
Islamites (Sunnites and Shiites) in the minority ⁚⁚⁚⁚⁚

After G. Zawadowski, "Situation de l'Islam en U.R.S.S. (1939—1945)," *En Terre d'Islam,* XXI (1946), No. 33.

IV. CONCLUSION

Chapter XIV

Conclusion

§ 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly 177.58
affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various 583
peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study.

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) 177.59
and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout 595
North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation.

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at [583]
least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90).

(4) *Bride price, bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociologica [582]
consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [567]

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted 177.68
by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 664

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be 177.56
reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 562

p. 189

177.87 871 184 Speaking of Russian influence, we must emphasize that nothing tends to unify the marriage and family observances among the mountaineers as much as formal education, formal Russian, and especially Soviet education (*supra*, p. 147).

Russian influence and the consequent change in customary marriage and family law (and we may include changes in Islamic law) are most strongly felt near and in large Russian cities like Grozny, along the coast of the Black and Caspian Sea, and, in general, wherever industrialization is making great strides. It is more strongly felt in the lowlands, less in the highlands, and only slightly in isolated villages.

2. Islamic Influence

177.58 58 Going somewhat deeper into history, we find a second principle, changing and unifying the customary law of the various mountain peoples of Caucasia, Islamic law, known as the *šarīʿa*.

(1) A number of *marriage impediments*, e. g., the "waiting period," the impediment of relationship by milk, etc. have either been introduced by Mohammedan missionaries or, at least, greatly modified by Islamic law (pp. 55, 66, 69).

(2) We have observed in not a few instances a conflict between the native *adats* and the *šarīʿa*, e. g., the struggle between *obligatory levirate* and Islamic optional levirate (*supra*, p. 73).

(3) Non-virgins are sometimes given *freedom of choice* in mating (*supra*, pp. 78 f), while virgins are not, a practice in full accord with the teaching of the Šāfiʿitic School.

(4) Thanks to Islamic influence, genuine *bride price* has throughout North Caucasus tended to become a form of dowry, called *kebin* (*supra*, p. 90).

(5) Penalties for *abduction* (*supra*, pp. 92—96),

(6) *the strict separation of sexes* (*supra*, pp. 106 f, 166),

(7) some *birth* customs, such as, naming of children, etc. (*supra*, pp. 142 f,

(8) some *engagement observances* (*supra*, pp. 100—110),

(9) some *divorce* laws (*supra*, pp. 133—137),

(10) *husband-wife relations* (*supra*, pp. 152—156),

(11) *parent-child relations* (*supra*, pp. 138—149, 187),

(12) certain *penal laws* for sexual offenses (*supra*, p. 171),

(13) *slavery* (*supra*, p. 65),

(14) and the general improvement in the *relative position of sexes*, e. g., acquisition of inheritance rights in Kabardia and Ossetia,[1] the *kebin*, and others—

all have been greatly modified by Islamic law. The *šarīʿa* is doubtless one of the main unifyng principles in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians.

However, the strength of this influence and the opposition against it have not been the same everywhere. Islamism has had very little influence on the marriage and family of the Southern Caucasians, except, of course, in Sakataly among the Ingiloi (Islamized Georgians). It has effected the greatest changes in Daghestan, where it has existed the longest. It assumes a middle position in Circassia and Chechnia, where, however, there are important tribal differences that must be taken into account. The Abadzekhs, Shapsugs, Natukhazh, Beshilbey, and Barakey follow their own customary laws rather than the *šarīʿa* much more so than do the Bzhedukh, Beslenians, and Kabardians who place both customary and Islamic law on the same level. In regard to the Chechen tribes, we must remember, the *šarīʿa* was not accepted by the Ichkerians and Chechens properly so-called till Shamyl's time, while the Karabulaks, Kists, Galgai and Galashi have never expressly aknowledged it.[2] 177,58 58

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[1] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 241.

1 [Sic—Analyst]

Of the non-Caucasians, the Kumyks and the Nogai have been the most thoroughly Islamized,[3] being among the first to accept the Koran. The Ossetes and the Karachai disregard the *šarīʿa* almost completely, following their own *adats* instead.[4]

3. Lesser Historical Influences

(1) **Christianity.** Christianity, too, has left its marks on the customary marriage and family law of the Caucasians. For example, one of the strongest counteractions against Avestic *endogamy* in Northwest and South Caucasus was Christianity (*supra*, pp. 53 f). Official *naming* of children (*supra*, p. 143), official *marriage contracts*, some *penal laws* (e. g., *supra*, p. 178), and, in some cases, changes in *divorce laws* and in the practice of *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 42) are certainly of Christian origin. [551]

Christianity, of course, has had the greatest influence among the Georgians of the lowlands, and considerably less among the mountain tribes of Georgia, and still less among the Northwestern Caucasians and Chechens, and least of all among the Lesghians. [595]

(2) **Avesta.** We have found a few traces of Avestic teaching in the marriage and family observances of the Caucasians, such as the rule of *endogamy* among all the Lesghians (and in pre-Christian Georgia). Zoroastrianism is also a possible explanation for the *local endogamy* of the Svans (*supra*, p. 53) and perhaps also for the obligation of purification after childbirth by washing in cow's urine.[5] The sphere of Iranian influence stretched far beyond Georgia and Daghestan. There is no longer any doubt, for example, that the laws of the Vendidats were known also to the Ossetes.[6] Nevertheless, the influence on North Caucasian marriage and family law has been only slight. [844]

(3) **Armenian, Byzantine, and Roman Influences.** There have been other historical causes for the change and unification of the marriage and family *adats* of the Caucasians, such as Armenian, Byzantine, Roman influence etc., but

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[2] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 8.

[3] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 4.

[4] Leontovič, II, p. 232, § 7.

[5] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, pp. 97 f. Cf. also Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 351.

[6] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

177 58 these have been felt either exclusively among the Southern Caucasians or have not been very great. The Roman-Byzantine influence was passed on to the North Caucasian tribes mainly through the Armenians and Georgians, which, however, did not affect their customary laws to any appreciable extent. Kovalevskij had a tendency to overemphasize these influences : he believed, for example, that the practice of offering an engagement gift to the bride or her family was of Roman-Byzantine origin,[7] and that the status of the Caucasian women had been greatly affected by Byzantine law.[8] 56

§ 2. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1. Analysis of Caucasian Adats : Predominant Character of North Caucasian Marriage and Family Customary Laws That of a Pastoral Nomadic Civilization

58 171 After having removed the above-mentioned historical influences and changes in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians, we now arrive at a more or less pure *adat*-law. Considering the marriage and family customary laws as a whole, we must conclude that we have before us a typically pastoral nomadic[9] marriage and family, and this although there are no pastoral nomads in the Caucasus in the strict sense of the word. Though some of the elements we shall now enumerate are also found in other cultures (for example, adultery is sometimes punished as severely by food-gatherers as by pastoral nomads), it is not the individual example we wish to stress but rather the entire institution of marriage and family taken as a whole. It should also be noted that the following summary is only an incomplete and general one : for details, therefore, the reader must look up the references given.

[595] (1) We have seen, for example, how widespread *polygyny* was among the North Caucasians.[10] We fully agree with Briffault, who has shown that all pastoral societies and societies which have passed " through a prolonged pastoral stage are all without exception in the highest degree polygamous."[11]

[597] (2) The *atalyk*,[12]

[591] (3) the *levirate*,[13]

(4) *patrilocality*,[14]

Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 136.

[8] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 139 f. He treats of these influences in detail in *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83—122.

[9] By pastoral nomadic we understand the various customs and laws commonly found among all the pastoral nomadic Turco-Mongols and Indo-Europeans. Many of the components of the Semitic and Hamitic cultures are also pastoral nomadic. Whether the pastoral nomadic culture is a primary (i. e., immediately following upon the food-gathering stage, being the oldest form of animal-breeding) or only secondary or even tertiary (i. e., the result of later specialization, a further development of a pastoral-agrarian culture) does not affect our analysis nor any of our conclusions.

[10] *Supra*, pp. 39—50.

[11] *The Mothers*, II, p. 256.

[12] *Supra*, p. 57.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 71—75.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 124 f.

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(5) and the *patria potestas*[15] in the extreme form as found in North Caucasia are all typically pastoral nomadic.

(6) The father alone has the *right to choose a mate* for his children, and [593] boys are given more consideration in the choice than the girls.[16]

(7) The *bride price,* though found in other cultures also, has a typically pastoral colouring in the Caucasus, since it is measured mainly in cattle and horses.[17] Bride wealth as a *price* in the strict sense of the word is found almost exclusively among pastoral peoples.[18]

(8) *Bride stealing*[19] is a common practice among pastoral nomads. All Turco-Tartars, Indo-Europeans, and the Semites have or at least have had frequent recourse to marriage by capture.

(9) The various *engagement prohibitions,*[20]

(10) the segregation of the bride in a special hut *(ambara),* the obligation of the young man to cover his entire head and face except for an opening for his eyes,[21] the obligation of the bride and groom to hide during the wedding,[22] the bride's veiling, taciturnity, resistence, the post-nuptial obligation of the [834] couple not to appear together before their parents or older brethren,[23] all these customary laws are in no way a vestige of former group marriage, fraternal polyandry, bride capture and the like, as we have sufficiently refuted above, but they are most likely an expression of the *extreme modesty peculiar to pastoral peoples,* a reaction to the "great change" from single to married life, more strongly felt among pastoral nomads than any other peoples.

(11) It is the *male side who proposes to the female and not vice versa,*[24] likewise a phenomenon found infallibly among pastoral nomads.

(12) The *great longing for children, especially for boys,*[25] although found [842] in other cultures, reaches its highest point among pastoral nomads. Connected with this craving after male children is the custom of marrying a second wife in case the first is sterile or "unable" to bear male offspring.

(13) The *wedding customs*[26] are typically pastoral nomadic in character: dramatization of bride capture, horse-racing, the proof of virginity with subsequent rejoicing if the bride is found "chaste," or mutilation and execution if found "unchaste," the special ceremonies and wishes for fertility, especially for the birth of many male children, the triple encircling of the fireplace, etc. are all typically pastoral nomadic.

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[15] *Supra,* pp. 183—186.

[16] *Supra,* pp. 76—81.

[17] *Supra,* pp. 82—91.

[18] *Supra,* p. 91.

[19] *Supra,* pp. 91—96.

[20] *Supra,* pp. 106—110.

[21] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus,* LXVI (1894), p. 40.

[22] *Supra,* p. 124.

[23] *Supra,* p. 166. For similar customs among the ancient Indo-Europeans see *infra, p. 198.*

[24] *Supra,* pp. 100—106.

[25] *Supra,* pp. 124, 139 ff.

[26] *Supra,* pp. 125—128, especially Table 16

1/ [i.e. a trait found among the Caucasians--Analyst]

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171 (14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[27] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce,*[28]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses,*[29]

(17) the *division of labour,*[30] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[31] remind us very much of a pastoral society. 171

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614 (19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[32] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin : any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual !), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form [681] of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our [408] concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born [628] son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus ; and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

171 We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits : in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess ; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

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[27] *Supra*, pp. 159 f.

[28] *Supra*, pp. 132—137.

[29] *Supra*, pp. 168—179, 182.

[30] *Supra*, pp. 156—159.

[31] *Supra*, pp. 152—156.

[32] *Supra*, pp. 44 f.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

are also typically pastoral nomadic. The South Caucasians, of course, possess considerably less pastoral nomadic traits than do our North Caucasians. 171

2. Temporal and Causal Designation

That the marriage and family customary laws of the various North Caucasian mountain tribes should be so distinctly pastoral nomadic demands an explanation. When, why and how have these *adats* acquired such a character? 174

A final answer to this problem is impossible without first having solved the problem of race, original home, and many other related problems regarding the *individual* tribes, such as their early migrations, cultural contacts, and their history in general. Moreover, not only is Caucasology still in its infancy, but the Caucasus is itself one of the most culturally complicated areas in the world. Immediately south of the Caucasus we have the great ancient cultural centres (Ancient Near East!); immediately north of the Caucasus we have the steppes, the scene of many an early migration; finally, the Caucasus itself was used during these migrations as a corridor and sometimes as a place of refuge. In an attempt to determine the causal and temporal relations of what we termed "pastoral nomadic" it is very essential not to assume more than our present knowledge of the Caucasus will allow us. We wish therefore only to throw some light upon the problem and to offer a partial solution.

But what do we know about the origin, the original home, the early migrations, cultural contacts, and history of the North Caucasian peoples and tribes? Very little indeed! We know only that the North Caucasian mountaineers lived elsewhere formerly and that they would never have settled in their present isolated mountain villages if they had not been forced to do so by their enemies. We also know that these migrations began long before the ancient Greek and Latin writes became aware of their existence.

Fortunately, prehistory offers us some useful information toward the solution of our problem. The abundance of finds in North Caucasus, Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia leave no doubt about this region being the home of a highly-developed pastoral nomadic civilization. It is here that the original home of the Indo-Europeans most likely is to be sought, and, as Vambéry pointed out almost seventy-five years ago,[33] the original home of the Altai nomads may have extended up to the Caspian Sea, the immediate vicinity of North Caucasus.

The steppes immediately north of the Caucasus was a stage on which various pastoral peoples repeatedly appeared, acted their parts, and then disappeared behind the scenes, giving way to other nomadic hordes more powerful than themselves.[34] The powerful nomadic Scythians (c. 800—300 B.C.)[35] were

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[33] *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes*, p. 14.

[34] F. Hančar, "Die Beile aus Koban in der Wiener Sammlung kaukasischer Altertümer," *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, XXI (1934), pp. 12 ff; Hančar, "Kaukasus-Luristan," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, 1934, Minns volume, pp. 47—112.
W. Schmidt, *Rassen und Völker*, II, pp. 174—196.

[35] Cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.

174 the first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the Cimmerians (c. 1000 B.C.) into the background. The Scythians were predominantly a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. Then we see new waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the Scythian country (c. 300 B.C.—A.D. 200): we see the Maeotes, Sindae, Sauromatians, etc. submitting to the newcomers.

175 This contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. To recall some of the history of this region—in the first century B.C. Crimea and the northern coasts of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman Empire. It was in this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century the Huns became the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth century the Khazars,[36] Avars,[37] and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; in the ninth century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the Kumans,[38] and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving the inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were made tributary to the Mongols.

[103] A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince us that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians live in very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, possessed a typically nomadic culture. The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are most probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghs seem to be turkized Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. And besides these originally Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples as the Kalmucks, Kumyks, etc.

176 58 This constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very beginning of pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 years ago—throws light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the North Caucasian marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral nomadic? This contact, although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and actually does shed considerable light upon the *adats* of the North Caucasians.

177 59 But it is not only the contact we must consider but the actual similarity of the family organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient Indo-European family and then the common features of the Altai society. Physical anthropology has shown that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) with nomadic peoples coming from the North;[39] linguistics proclaims the same.

F. Hančar, "Die Ausweitung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Blick nach Osten*, 1949, No. 1—2, pp. 51—61; "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilung der Oesterreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII—LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

[36] At least the rulers, if not all Khazars, were Turks.

[37] These Avars have no connection with the Lesghians bearing the same name. The Avars referred to are proto-Mongols, and therefore neither Turks nor true Caucasians.

[38] The Kumans are also known as the Kypchaks, or, as the Russians sometimes call them, the "Polovcy."

[39] *Supra*, pp. 11 f. The Ossetes, for example, especially certain tribes, have a strong Caucasian strain. Many centuries ago some Ossetine groups have been actually Georgianized.

in regard to their languages;[40] cultural anthropology, as our study clearly shows, 174
must admit a very strong cultural connection between the North Caucasians 59.
and the various nomadic peoples with whom they have been in contact.

Although there is still much controversy connected with the complicated 174
Indo-European problem, there is almost complete harmony when the marriage 59
and family customary laws are being described.[41] E. Hermann[42] and O. Schra- 58
der[43] are no doubt responsible for this harmony.

The first remarkable fact about the Indo-European society is the essential absence of totemistic and mother-right practices.[44] Indo-European social life (and, we might add, religion and economy) centred round (1) the joint-family and (2) especially its male members. Although a distinction was drawn between a biological and an undivided family, the biological family was of little significance except in connection with the undivided family to which it belonged. All property belonged to the joint-family, at the head of which was the patriarch. He enjoyed the *patria potestas* in the strict sense of the word. His wife (or wives, as the case may be) was subject to him in all things. Juridically speaking, her condition and that of all female members of the family hardly differed from that of little children. Women had no part in public affairs, no part in sacrifice. In fact, women were hardly better off than slaves. Inheritance rights were reserved for the male members of the family; the first-born had very special rights. Purity of blood of all members of the joint-family was greatly insisted upon. This seems to have been the main reason why a woman was generally punished with death for a serious offense.[45] This was also most probably the reason for the custom of placing a new-born child on the ground and inviting the father to pick it up as a sign that he recognized it as his own. The girls of the family had no freedom of choice in mating; they were either captured, or, as was generally the case, they were sold off, so to speak, to the highest bidder. The bride price consisted mainly in cattle. The main matrimonial impediments were those of consanguinity and disparity of social rank. The marriage was, of course, patrilocal. The chief marriage ceremonies were those of the triple encircling of the fireplace and the bridal procession (uxorem ducere, γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι). Virginity of the bride was very highly esteemed. The chief purpose of marriage

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[40] We need but recall such important words as *aul, kalym, adat,* etc. The language of the Ossetes contains many Caucasianisms; on the other hand, the Caucasian languages clearly show Indo-European contact.

[41] Compare, for example, the description of the Indo-European family organization as presented in Dr. Wolfgang Philipp's *Weibwertung oder Mutterrecht?* (Ost-Europa Verlag, Königsberg and Berlin, 1942), a Nazi publication, with that of Prof. W. Koppers, "Die Indogermanenfrage im Lichte der historischen Völkerkunde," *Anthropos,* XXX (1935), No. 1—2, pp. 8—11, or of Alphons Nehring, "Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik,* IV (1936), pp. 167—181.

[42] "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft in Göttingen, Berlin,* 1934; also "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Forschungen und Fortschritte,* X (1934), p. 235.

[43] *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde,* Berlin, 1929, 2 volumes.

[44] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[45] Men involved in sex offenses were generally not punished.

174 was the procreation of children, but especially of sons, who would one day
58 become the performers of the sacred rites connected with ancestor worship.
59 The cult for the departed was connected with the cult of the fireplace and was looked upon as the most sacred duty of the individual and of the family. Since the members of the same sib were descendents of the same ancestors, they were bound to one another in life and in death. This solidarity explains the frequency of family feuds, for blood-revenge was considered a very sacred duty. Polygyny was relatively common ; polyandry, however, was taboo. The proof of virginity, the levirate, and the regulations regarding divorce and many other matters are very similar to those still in practice among the Ossetes of the Caucasus. It is indeed worthy of note that the Ossetine *adats* differ but slightly from the customary laws of their ancestors, while, as we have observed throughout the present study, the North Caucasians, especially the Cherkess, the Abkhaz, and the Ingushi differ but little from their neighbours, the Ossetes.[46]

[177] The contact with the Indo-Europeans, especially with the Ossetes and their ancestors, must have been very important. We need but think of the powerful Scythians, and then, later on, of the Alans who made their presence felt as far east as China and as far west as Spain. Many of the customs, especially of the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Ingushi have certainly been borrowed from the Ossetes : the many legends about ancient heroes, especially the so-called Nart-stories, and many a godlet now worshipped by the North Caucasian are certainly of Indo-European origin.

[171] If we now compare the Turco-Mongolian society with that of the North Caucasians and ancient Indo-Europeans we shall find a striking similarity in the family organizations of the three groups.[47] To point out a few of the more

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[46] Among other practices of the ancient Indo-Europeans might be mentioned child-marriages, the *snohačestvo*, the obligation of the bride to keep silence, the custom of veiling and covering the bride's face, mother-in-law inheritance, etc. See especially E. Hermann, " Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 39—62. We have based our description of the ancient Indo-European family on : Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 8—11 ; A. Nehring, *l. c.* ; O. Schrader, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; E. Hermann, *op. cit.*, *passim* , W. Philipp, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—43.

The ancient *Slavs* countenanced polygamy, a custom that continued to the tenth century A. D. Polygyny, however, was a privilege of the rich. The impediment of consanguinity and of disparity of socal rank were strictly insisted upon. Girls would be married off against their wills. We also find the *snohačestvo* among the ancient Slavs. A wife was acquired either by purchase or capture. A distinction between a joint-family *(rodovaja or boliaja semja)* and the individual *(ocovskaja or malaja semja)* was made, with a patriarch *(starosta or staračina)* at the head. It is also interesting to note that the same concept of a household is found in Russia as in North Caucasia, namely " fireplace." Blood-beuds, bloodwite, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, the *patria potestas* and many other features of the Slavic family life very closely resemble the Caucasian society. Ancestor worship centred round the fireplace and the male head of the joint-family was the family-priest. Vestiges of the cult are still to be found in Ukraine (E. Ellnett, *Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia*, pp. 2 ff.) For more about the Slavic family organization see Zdenko Vinski, *Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum.* Many of these elements are still found among the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, etc.

[47] See Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ; A. Nehring, *op. cit.*, pp. 169—173. As W. Schmidt pointed out more than 20 years ago in his *Völker und Kulturen*, elements of the pastoral nomadic civilization are also found among the Hamito-Semitic peoples.

essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the 174
almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis 58
placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first- 59
born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*,
the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc.

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the [177]
Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of [769]
a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, [762]
among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between [171]
the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin.

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage 611
and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes. 562

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

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[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

562 seems to be inversely proportional to the intensity of pastoral traits in the given 611 group : the Southern Caucasians possess by far more vestiges of a mother-right culture than the Northerners ; and again, the Northeasterners possess more of these vestiges than the Northwesterners.

It is of course difficult to determine just what one may call a mother-right trait and what not. Some of the practices we shall now review briefly are therefore only doubtfully vestiges of such a culture ; others must be considered as good indications of such a culture ; finally, others, I think, can be called genuine vestiges.

(1) *Before delivery a Cherkess woman goes to her own mother's house to give birth to her child* ; her husband may not visit her during this time.[50]

(2) Our chapter on marital, parental, and kinship avoidances contains a number of possible vestiges, especially *the temporary return of the bride to her family after the wedding* and the temporary *visit-marriage*.[51]

(3) Then there is the *important part played by the mother in the wedding customs* of the mountaineers,[52] which we termed "suspiciously matriarchal." The Lesghian mother (not father !) welcomes the bride into the house, as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds the bride's hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the maternal uncle who has led the bride's horse in the Ingiloian bridal procession from the bride's home to that of the groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that she has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress. And it was the mother who, by presenting the engagement gifts, concluded the betrothal contract.

(4) If a *murderer kills a pregnant woman he is obliged to pay an additional* fine of Rs. 30 to the victim's (not husband's) sib ; the Rs. 30 are perhaps for the loss of the unborn child, who formerly belonged to the mother's sib.[53]

(5) The *mother of the girl recieves a horse as part of the Ossetine*[54] *and Temirgoian*[55] *bride price.*

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[50] Bleichsteiner ("Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 259 f) accepts this custom as a true vestige ; Ladyženskij (FT, p. 188) rejects it. In our opinion the practice may be rightly looked upon as a *possible*, though not absolutely certain, vestige. In his translation of Ladyženskij's article Dirr adds a note, disagreeing with the author : "Ganz so einfach liegt wohl die Sache nicht. Die Mutter konnte ja auch zu ihrer Tochter kommen." In other words, Dirr objects that if the only reason for the return of the expectant mother to her family were merely to receive the necessary assistance at childbirth, as Ladyženskij believes to be the case, then why does not the mother come to her daughter's home instead ? Ladyženskij takes up the question again and defends his position in a subsequent article ("Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII [1930], pp. 238 f). He argues that it is simply impossible for the mother to go to her daughter's home : in the first place, she must stay at home, being the mistress of the household ; in the second place, it is strictly prohibited by custom for her to live at the home of her son-in-law at any time whatsoever. This answer to Dirr's objection is certainly insufficient : if the daughter actually returned to her family merely because she needs help at childbirth, it would seem rather strange that she could not get this necessary assistance at her own home from her mother-in-law or her sisters-in-law.

[51] *Supra*, pp. 165 ff.

[52] *Supra*, pp. 124, 128.

[53] *Supra*, p. 139.

[54] *Supra*, p. 87. The horse is called *madi-bash*.

[55] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 91.

(6) The *maternal uncle* appears on the scene in marriage and family affairs as an important figure. A special part of the bride price (*madi-arvadai-kal*) of the Ossetes is reserved for the maternal uncle.[56] Among the Ingushi and a number of other tribes in North Caucasia, if someone drinks to the health of his friend's sister and then gives him a present, the friend is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and his friend, otherwise a blood-feud will be the result. This custom, as we have said, overrules even the inviolable *patria potestas* and all the *adats* regarding the choice of mates. It is, as it were, an acceptance of the bride price by the brother (" maternal uncle ") without handing the bride over to the purchaser.[57] Moreover, an Ingush lad, after reaching the age when he is allowed to carry arms, has a right to a special present from his maternal uncle. In fact, the youth may go and steal the present with impunity, because he has a *right* to it.[58] This, I think, may very easily be a vestige of a former inheritance rule through the maternal uncle.[59] The Khevsur orphan automatically falls to the guardianship of the maternal uncle.[60] Kovalevskij conjectures that the Georgian institution known as *tsatsali*[61] may be a vestige of the custom to adopt a maternal uncle.[62] 604 583 [428]

Kovalevskij, Post and other ethnologists of the 19th century " found " an astoundingly large number of " undeniable " vestiges of a former matriarchal culture in the Caucasus. Any custom that would fit into the false principle " mater certa, pater incertus " was " infallibly " a matriarchal vestige. Thus the *atalyk*,[63] the taboos forbidding a father to carry his own child, the prohibition for anyone to ask about the health of another person's wife or child, etc.[64] were all " vestiges " of former matriarchy. The Cherkess *tleush*[65] and the Ingush *taipa*[66] were likewise " vestiges." Kovalevskij's article " La famille matriarcale au Caucase "[67] is a typical example of the matriarchy mania under which the scientists of the past century laboured. Every now and then they would come across a true vestige or a possible indication of matriarchy or mother-right, and these we have incorporated in the present work. The other " vestiges " we have rejected and offered other, more plausible explanations and interpretations. 611 114

Russian interest in the problem of mother-right has again been revived. The Russian ethnologist maintains that matriarchy was universal at one time: it was a stage through which all civilizations had to pass, while patriarchy is only

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[56] *Supra*, p. 87.

[57] *Supra*, p. 101. A Berže, Čečnja i čečency, p. 98; Leontovič, II, pp. 251 f, § 149; Kovalevskij, " La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

[58] Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, p. 47.

[59] This seems to be a genuine vestige.

[60] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 273. The maternal uncle also plays an important part in the Khevsurian blood-feuds (Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 273).

[61] *Supra*, p. 182.

[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[63] *Supra*, p. 57.

[64] *Supra*, pp. 149 f, 162—167.

[65] *Supra*, p. 55.

[66] *Supra*, p. 84.

[67] *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 259—278. See also Kovalevskij's *Zakon*, I, pp. 3—27.

611 a further development of this stage with the avunculate as a link between
114 matriarchy and patriarchy.[68] Although the modern Soviet ethnologist is very cautious about what he terms "matriarchal," it is the universality of matriarchy that must be rejected as unfounded.

174 Linguists, especially of the Marr School, have pointed out other vestiges of
611 mother-right in the Caucasus, thus confirming our ethnological argument.[1]

Prehistory too might be able to offer some valuable data, but unfortunately the prehistorian has no way of establishing a connection between his discoveries and the culture of any North Caucasian people. Nevertheless, we can use the prehistorical data at least as a negative argument: the prehistorical discoveries do not exclude the existence of an older, more or less strong mother-right influence. On the contrary, the finds confirm such an opinion. The Copper Age discoveries of the Naldhik, Kuban, and the Kuban-Terek stages point to a society with a matriarchal sib organization.[69]

In other words, we cannot deny the existence of so-called mother-right vestiges, but compared to the numerous typically pastoral nomadic traits in the marriage and family customary laws of the North Caucasians they are quite rare. Nevertheless, the mother-right vestiges are sufficient in number to be a good indication that the family organization was much more matriarchal prior to the influences from Inner Asia than afterwards.[70]

We may ask ourselves the following two important questions: Why are the northwestern marriage and family *adats* the most "pastoral nomadic," the southern the least so, while the northeastern occupy a middle position? Why should the number of so-called mother-right traits be found in the three groups precisely in the reverse order? Caucasology is still too young to allow anyone to venture upon a final and complete solution. Here too we are able to offer only a partial solution.

174 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The true origin of the Cherkess is uncertain. It seems that at one time they were a powerful pastoral people, occupying a vast area, the entire North Caucasian foreland and a large sector of southeastern Europe. The Cherkess legends frequently refer to the steppes, to customs and usages of a distinctly steppe culture.[71] Later on their relations with the various nomadic peoples in this region, especially with the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans—not to mention the more recent relations with the Ossetes and Turco-Mongols—were by far closer than were those of the other Caucasians. This hypothetical origin and economic life of the Cherkess

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[68] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, pp. 1—46. Also the following by the same author: "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 211 ff; *Matriarchat, Istorija Problemy*, Izkatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 1948, 329 pages; "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. See also H. P. Dyrenkova, "Perežitki materinskago roda u altajskich tjurkov," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 18—45.

[69] See Table 4.

[70] It is interesting to note that the last two stages of the Caucasian Copper Age (the Kuban and the Kuban-Terek stage) begin to show a distinct rise of male importance through leadership in trade, religion, metallurgy, and cattle-breeding.

[71] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 253.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 199 f.--Analyst]

and the contact with pastoral nomads is certainly a good explanation for the fact that the Cherkess marriage and family are the most pastoral nomadic of all North Caucasians.

The origin of the Abkhaz is a veritable mystery. Baschmakoff's conjecture that they came from Anatolia and that only later on, some time in the first millenium B. C., were Cherkessized in their common struggle against powerful Colchis, is indeed possible, but unfortunately there is very little evidence to support this theory.[72] In any case, we must admit that the Cherkess have exerted a very great influence on the Abkhaz.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The original home of the Chechens and the Lesghians is also uncertain. It seems, however, that both the Chechens and the Lesghians came from the South rather than from the North. According to A. Dirr the brachycephalic Caucasians migrated from the South,[73] and, as we have seen in our general introduction,[74] the Lesghians are among the most brachycephalic peoples of all Caucasus. Moreover, the traditions of the Chechens and the Lesghians favour a southern origin. It is quite probable that some Georgian tribes, after themselves having been driven into the lowlands of Southern Caucasia from their original home somewhere in Asia Minor, forced toe Northeasterners into the mountains who were eventually forced to settle on the northern slopes of the Caucasus.

If we accept the hypothesis of a southern origin, the fact that the Northeasterners possess by far less pastoral traits and more mother-right vestiges in their marriage and family customs than do the Northwesterners becomes at once much more intelligeable : on the one hand their contact with the Asiatic pastoral cultures was shorter and less intense than was that of the Northwesterners living north of the mountain range in the lowlands ; on the other hand their proximity to Asia Minor and their close connection with the South Caucasians subjected them more to mother-right influences.

What we have just said about the Northeasterners holds even more for the SOUTHERNERS : the pastoral nomadic influences were the remotest, shortest, and weakest among them, whereas their contact with the civilizations of Asia Minor was the most intense.

The great problem, which future fieldwork and intensive study and cooperation of scholars interested in the various fields of Caucasology alone will solve, is to discover the aspect of the marriage and family laws of the North Caucasians prior to the changes brought about by pastoral nomadism. Perhaps the new lively interest of the Soviet scholars in the ethnogenesis of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. will contribute not a little toward the solution of the problem. The problem must, of course, be approached *systematically*, considering each tribe *individually* and avoiding as much as possible such general expressions as

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[72] A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la mer Noire*, p. 13. It is indeed striking that the Abkhaz language occupies a middle position between the Northwestern and Southern languages, and similarily between the Northwestern and Northeastern languages.

[73] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[74] *Supra*, p. 9.

Northwesterners" and "North Caucasians." In our present study we have considered the use of such terms quite permissible, for we have spoken of periods of *adat*-history during which the laws were more or less uniform. But were the marriage and family customary laws so uniform *before* the pastoral nomadic influences set in? What were these laws like? That is the problem of the future. It is a problem which cannot be solved by one man alone, nor can it be solved by one branch of Caucasology alone. It is a problem all branches and all students of Caucasian culture must solve together, not today, not tomorrow, but perhaps only after many decades of intense work.[73]

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[73] In solving this problem the Caucasologist may not overlook the results of D. J. Wölfel's many years of research regarding the culture of peoples possessing similar economic forms of life as we find in the Caucasus today.

Prof. Wölfel has traced two extensive Neolithic pastoral-agrarian cultures from Ireland, down to Southern France, Spain, Switzerland, Tyrol, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Mediterranean region, especially what he terms "White" Africa, Caucasus, the Near East up to the Himalayas. In Europe the cultures are certainly pre-Indo-European, while in Africa they are pre-Hamitic. In the Caucasus, Africa, and Near East they must have preceded the flourishing cultures of Egypt, Assyria, etc., in other words, certainly before the fifth millenium B. C.

There are two cultures in question: the "Ziehbauerkultur" and the "Gebirgsbauerkultur." Both economies are known to the Caucasians!

The "Ziehbauer" are semi-nomadic peoples with summer pastures in the mountains and winter pastures in the lowlands, sometimes several hundred miles apart. They have permanent houses in villages situated on the side of a mountain, where they live whenever not actually with their herds. Originally only sheep and goats were raised, and today usually only sheep and goats are taken from their summer to their winter pastures. These semi-nomads have special customary laws regarding the pastures as well as the strip of land used by the flocks when passing from one pasture to another. These pastoral peoples are at the same time agrarians: their fields are located near their villages, and sometimes they even plough up a patch near the winter pasture. This particular economy is spread over "White" Africa, the mountain countries of the Mediterranean, in Spain, especially in the Pyrenees, in France, the Balkans, among the Slavs, in Greece, Iran, and the Caucasus.

The "Gebirgsbauerkultur" differs from the former culture in as much as large cattle and not sheep or goats are the main domestic animals. The second difference lies in the fact that these pastoral-agrarians have only summer-pastures (in the highlands), the stall and fodder replacing the winter-pastures. This culture possesses peculiar wooden containers, and distinctive forms of cheese and butter. The typical house is a rectangular building, sunk partly into the side of the mountain; the walls of the groundfloor are of stone while the upper story has wooden walls. The beams between the two stories project in front forming a balcony. The towers, which are so commonly seen in Caucasian villages, are also found in other parts of the world where this particular form of economy is met with. The towers are not only used for defense among these warlike peoples but also as store-rooms. The culture is spread over "White" Africa, among the Basques, in the Alps, Scandanavia, British Isles, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Caucasus and in the mountains of Central Asia. (Cf. D. J. Wölfel, "Die Hauptprobleme Weissafrikas," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XXVII (1942), No. 4.)

According to Prof. Wölfel the *mobačestvo*, fosterage, and not a few of the elements we have classified as coming into the Caucasus from Inner Asia are social phenomena peculiar to these Neolithic cultures.

We wish now to enumerate a number of marriage and family customs which seem to hint at some sort of actual relationship with the "Zieh-" or "Gebirgsbauer."

Prof. Wölfel, for example, has called my attention to a parallel of the Cherkess and Ossetine corset-ceremony (*supra*, p. 113) found in Tyrol. E. Westermarck (Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, London, 1914, p. 232) mentions a custom according to which the groom is obliged to untie knots before the consummation of marriage.

4. Retrospect

(1) *The marriage and family customary laws of all North Caucasian tribes are astoundingly similar.* 000

(2) *Their marriage and family adats agree essentially with those of their Caucasian and non-Caucasian (Turco-Mongolian and Indo-European) neighbours.*

(3) *This similarity must be attributed especially*[78] *to common unifying principles.*

(4) *In historical times the unifying principles in question were: Russian (Soviet and pre-Soviet) influences, Islam, Christianity, Roman-Byzantine law, Avesta.*

(5) *The great similarity in marriage and family adats of the North Caucasians must be attributed especially to pastoral nomadic influences originating in Inner Asia.*

Other parallels which I have found in Westermarck's work and which will serve to prove that the oldest cultures of Caucasia cannot be studied without keeping Prof. Wölfel's theory in mind are the following: (1) the frequent use of honey in connection with marriage (*op. cit.*, p. 29); (2) the custom of placing a raw egg in bowl of grain (*op. cit.*, p. 90) and scattering the grains. In this case, however, the sister of he bride does the scattering. (3) The crossing of swords to protect the bride from evil spirits (*op. cit.*, pp. 99, 108, 123, 152, 162) is also found in the Caucasus (*supra*, p. 124); however, this custom may have come by way of Islamism. (4) The bride and groom eat sheep's liver to insure concord and love (*op. cit.*, p. 101; *supra*, p. 117); in the Caucasus sheep's heart is eaten instead. (5) Stones are thrown at a shrine by the participants of the wedding procession. Westermarck interprets this custom as a means of driving away and killing the Yiblis; among the Ossetes the shrine is pelted as a fertility rite. (6) In the Caucasus flour is poured on the bride (*supra*, p. 118); in Morocco flour is smeared on the groom (*op. cit.*, p. 147) and milk is poured on the bride. In these ceremonies in both countries it is the whiteness of milk and flour that is stressed, white representing nuptial joy. (7) In the Caucasus a little boy is placed in the lap of the bride so that she may soon become the mother of a boy; in Morocco a boy is placed immediately behind the bride as she rides in the procession from her home to that of her groom. (8) Then there are such customs as giving the bride a stroke as a sign of her husband's authority over her. (*Supra*, p. 119), *op. cit.*, pp. 158 f.) In Palestine this blow is given with a stick as soon as the bride crosses the threshold. (9) Or again, there is the custom of throwing stones at the bride when the procession begins to leave her father's home (*op. cit.*, pp. 176 f); in the Caucasus, among the Andi, we find the custom of throwing filth at her (*supra*, p. 119). (10) After the virginity test has taken place—just as is the case in the Caucasus—the hymenal blood on the garment is exhibited or a gun is fired announcing her virginity (*op. cit.*, pp. 236 f, 242, 254); but this custom may easily be of Semitic or Hamitic origin. (11) As soon as the bride arrives, her mother-in-law offers her some milk (*op. cit.*, pp. 194, 210); in the Caucasus she smears honey on the bride's lips (*supra*, p. 124). 71 18

There are of course other similarities that might be mentioned, but these are probably of Islamic, Arabic, or Hamitic origin. Some of the Hamitic practices (and therefore pastoral nomadic !) are: (1) on the wedding day or shortly before fetching the bride, the cloak of the groom is pulled over his face, just as among the Abkhaz (*op. cit.*, pp. 102, 105 f, 112; *supra*, p. 123); (2) on arriving at her new home, the bride must immediately hide behind a curtain, attended to only by a few female friends (*op. cit.*, p. 105; *supra*, p. 124). (3) A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, ***La Kabylie et les coutume kabyles***, 1893, mention a number of other pastoral nomadic elements. (See especially volume II, pp. 149, 154, 177, 187, 188, 191, 219.)

OOO (6) **Very important was** *the contact with the Indo-Europeans.*

(7) *The Turco-Mongolian influence in relatively recent times (Huns, Khazars, the Golden Horde, Nogai, Kumycks, Balkarians, etc.) are responsible especially for the preservation of the pastoral nomadic character of the marriage and family adats.*

(8) *The marriage and family of the North Caucasians had at one time a much more mother-right aspect than it has had since the pastoral nomadic influences set in.*

(9) *The hypothetical original home of the Caucasians throws light upon the various intensities of pastoral nomadic and mother-right traits.*

(10) *The great problem of the future is to discover the marriage and family customary laws as they existed prior to the pastoral nomadic influences.*

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[26] We wish to emphasize the word "especially," for economic conditions, isolation, mutual influences of the Caucasian peoples themselves, especially contact with the Cherkess, convergence, other historical influences, etc. must be considered too. We have generally done so when we explained the individual custom.

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MAP IV

Peoples of Ancient Caucasus

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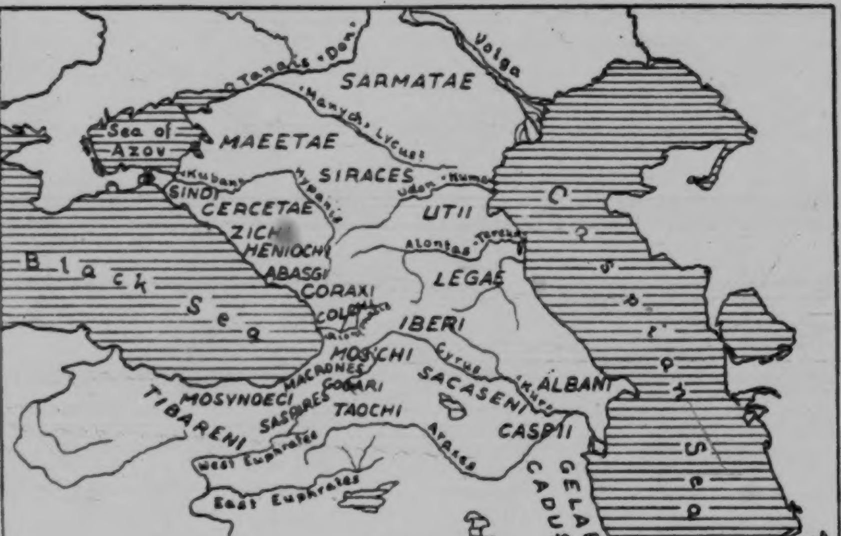
Tanais · Don
Volga
SARMATAE
Sea of Azov
MAEETAE
Manych, Lycus
SIRACES
Kuban
Hypanis
Udon · Kuma
SINDI
CERCETAE
UTII
ZICHI
HENIOCHI
Alontas
Terek
B l a c k S e a
ABASGI
LEGAE
CORAXI
COLCHI
IBERI
MOSCHI
Cyrus
MACRONES
SACASENI
ALBANI
MOSYNOECI
SASPIRES
COGARI
TAOCHI
Kura
TIBARENI
CASPII
Araxes
West Euphrates
East Euphrates
C a s p i a n S e a
GELAE
CADUSII
AMARDI
TAPURI
HYRCANIA
H. E.

After A. Sanders, *Kaukasien*, pag. 23

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(3) Ossetes (chapter two: position of Ossetine widow, *kalym*, wedding, divorce; chapter three: wedding customs, polygyny, bride-price, social position of women; division of labour, secondary wives, engagement, dowry, bride capture, child-engagements, marriage age, hetaerism, fire-place ceremony, avoidances, respect of children for elders, social position of women, divorce, the levirate, temporary wives, childbirth, *patria potestas*, sexual offenses, rearing of children, sororate;

(4) Chechens (chapter one: princely class; chapter two: slaves, status of women, hetaerism, marriage by consent, elopement, engagement, gifts on occasion of betrothal, part played by brother in engagement, marriage age, freedom of choice, *kalym*, rights of an engaged man, polygyny, wedding, bride capture, husband-wife relations, divorce; chapter four: social classes;*

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* These details clearly show the abundance of ethnographic data regarding marriage and the family to be found in this work.

(5) Lesghians;

(6) Kumyks.

Bk. ii:

(1) Abkhaz, (2) Svans, (3) Georgians, (4) Imeréti, Mingrelians, Gurians, (5) Tushi, Pshavs, Khevsurs, (6) Transcaucasian Mohammedans, (7) Tartars, and (8) Armenians.

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A	B	C
D	E	F

Chart of position of
Sections of end map.

[Facing end map]

8: Juābetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasus RHI

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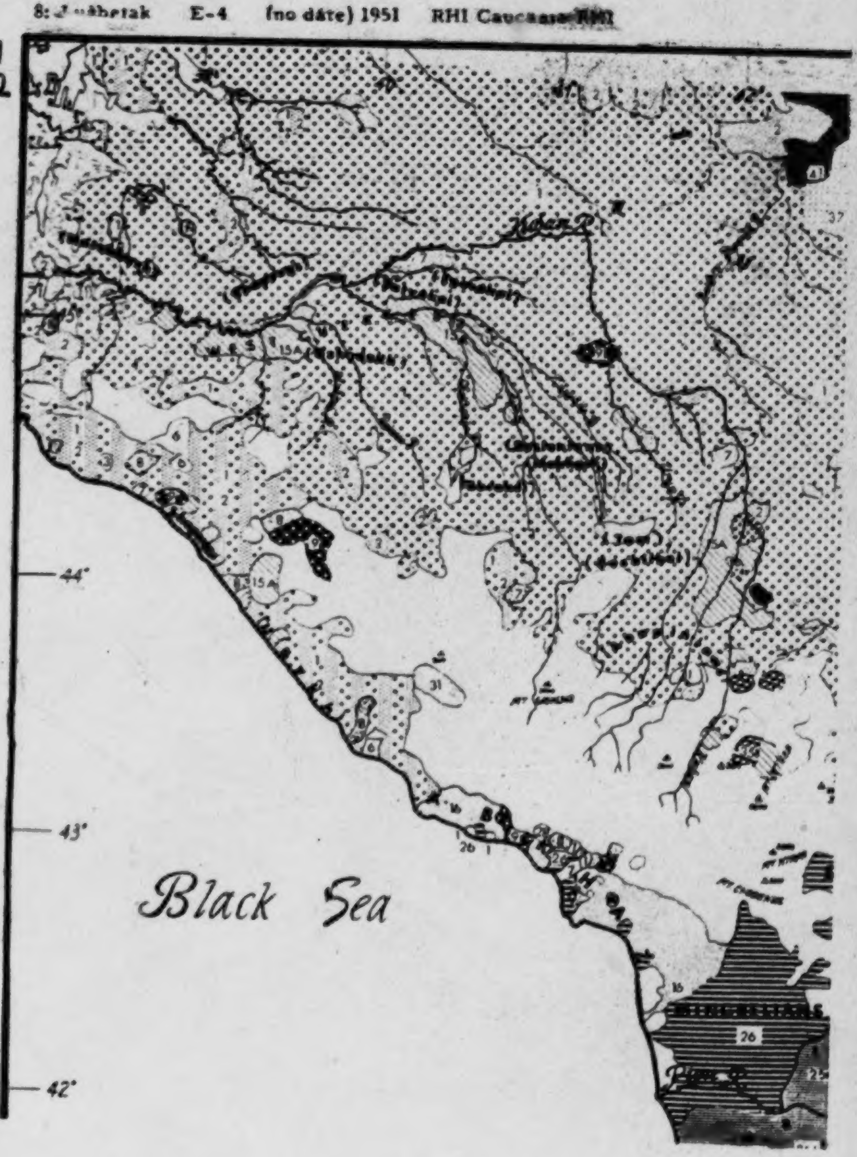
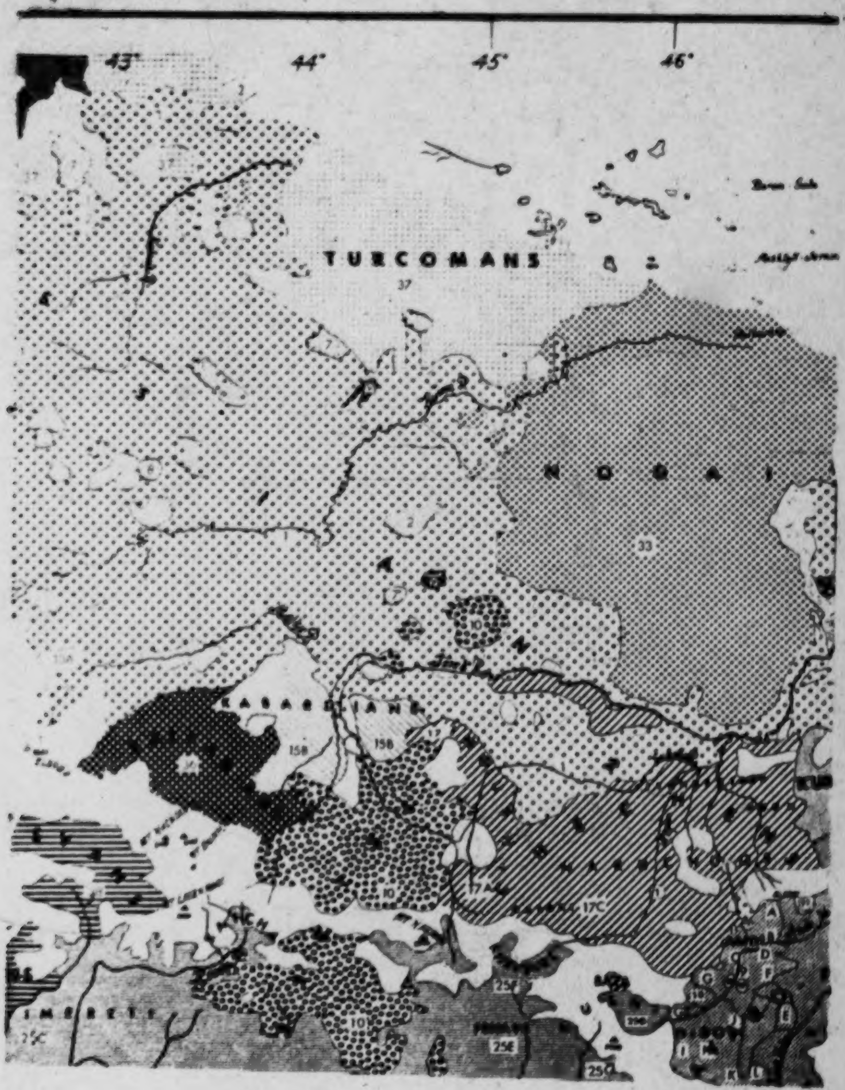

Kuban R.
44°
43°
42°
Black Sea
15A
31
26
41
37
Rion R.

[End map A]


43°
44°
45°
46°
TURCOMANS
37
NOGAI
33
10
KABARDIANS
15B
17
17C
10
IMERETI
25C
25E
25E
25C
A
D
F
G
K
L

[End map B]

S: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

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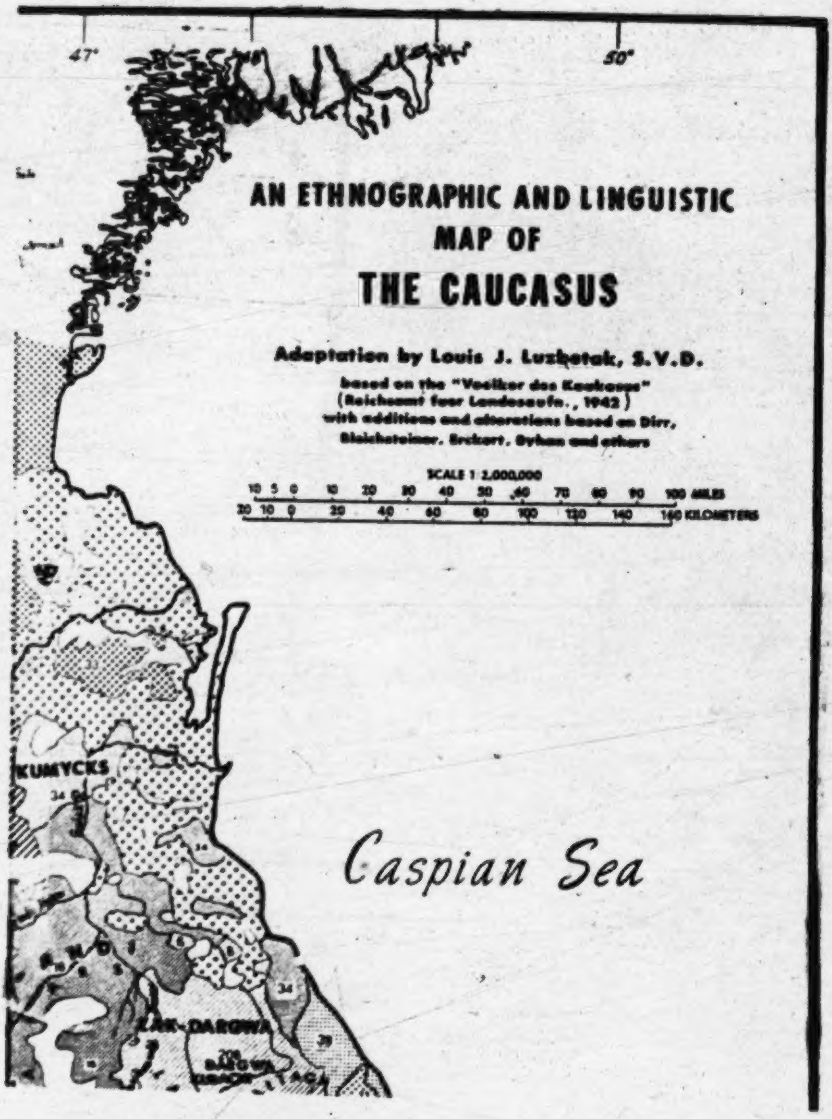


AN ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC MAP OF THE CAUCASUS

Adaptation by Louis J. Luzbetak, S.V.D.

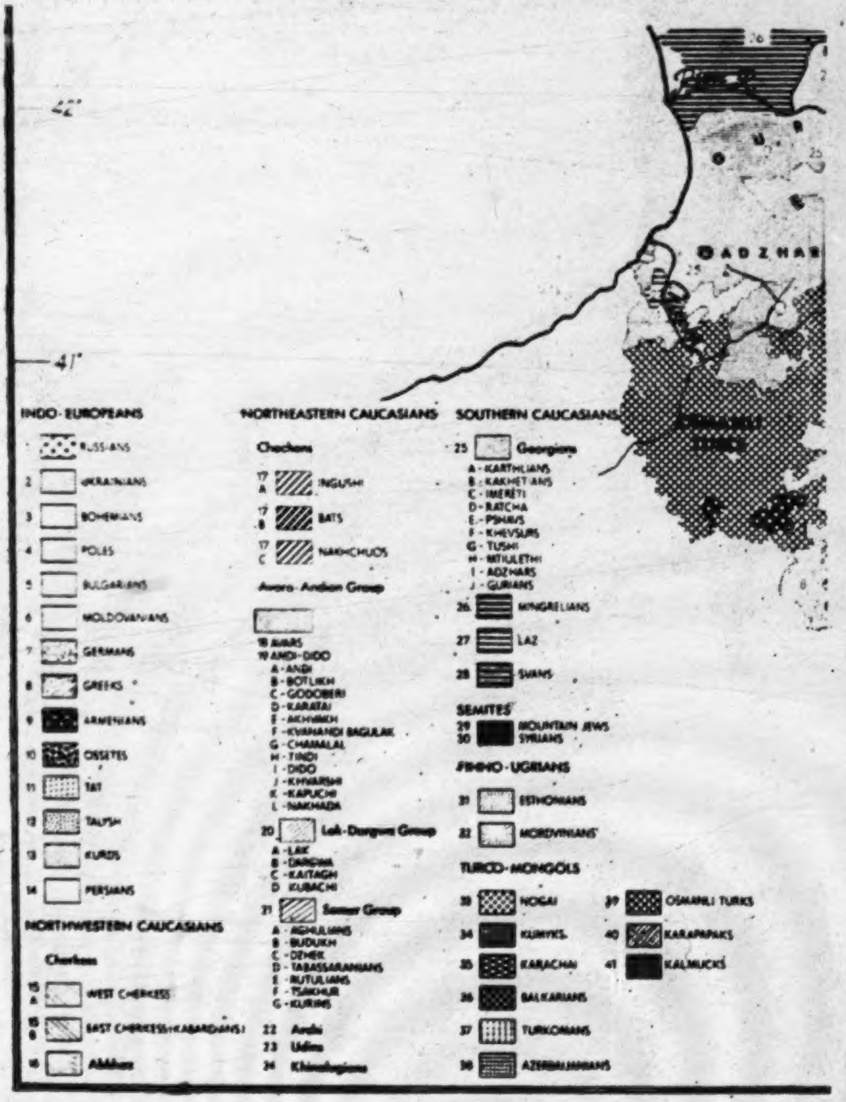
based on the "Voelker des Kaukasus"
(Reichsamt fuer Landesaufn., 1942)
with additions and alterations based on Dirr,
Bleichsteiner, Erckert, Byhan and others

47°
50°
SCALE 1 2,000,000
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 MILES
20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 KILOMETERS
33
KUMYCKS
34
34
34
KAK-DARGWA
DARGWA
39
Caspian Sea

[End map C]

S: Lużbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl

191
162


42°
41°
ADZHAR
25
26
2
8
6
INDO-EUROPEANS
1 RUSSIANS
2 UKRAINIANS
3 BOHEMIANS
4 POLES
5 BULGARIANS
6 MOLDOVANIANS
7 GERMANS
8 GREEKS
9 ARMENIANS
10 OSSETES
11 TAT
12 TALYSH
13 KURDS
14 PERSIANS
NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS
Cherkess
15 A WEST CHERKESS
15 B EAST CHERKESS (KABARDIANS)
16 Abkhaz
NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS
Chechens
17 A INGUSH
17 B BATS
17 C NAKHCHUOS
Avaro-Andian Group
18 AVARS
19 ANDI-DIDO
A - ANDI
B - BOTLIKH
C - GODOBERI
D - KARATAI
E - AKHVAKH
F - KVANANDI BAGULAK
G - CHAMALAL
H - TINDI
I - DIDO
J - KHVARSHI
K - KAPUCHI
L - NAKHADA
20 Lak-Dargwa Group
A - LAK
B - DARGWA
C - KAITAGH
D KUBACHI
21 Samur Group
A - AGHULIANS
B - BUDUKH
C - DZHEK
D - TABASSARANIANS
E - RUTULIANS
F - TSAKHUR
G - KURINS
22 Archi
23 Udins
24 Khinalugians
SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS
25 Georgians
A - KARTHLIANS
B - KAKHETIANS
C - IMERETI
D - RATCHA
E - PSHAVS
F - KHEVSURS
G - TUSHI
H - MTIULETHI
I - ADZHARS
J - GURIANS
26 MINGRELIANS
27 LAZ
28 SVANS
SEMITES
29 MOUNTAIN JEWS
30 SYRIANS
FINNO-UGRIANS
31 ESTHONIANS
32 MORDVINIANS
TURCO-MONGOLS
33 NOGAI
34 KUMYKS
35 KARACHAI
36 BALKARIANS
37 TURKOMANS
38 AZERBAIJANIANS
39 OSMANLI TURKS
40 KARAPAPAKS
41 KALMUCKS

[End map D]

& Lužbetak E-4 (no date 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

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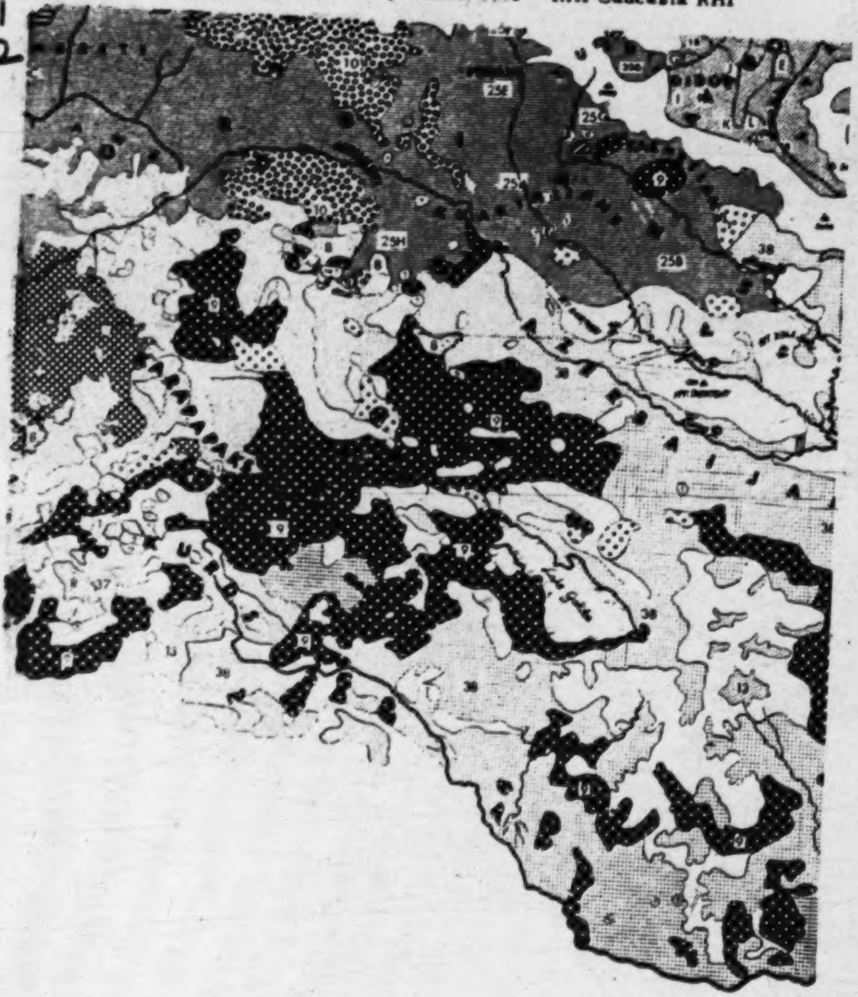
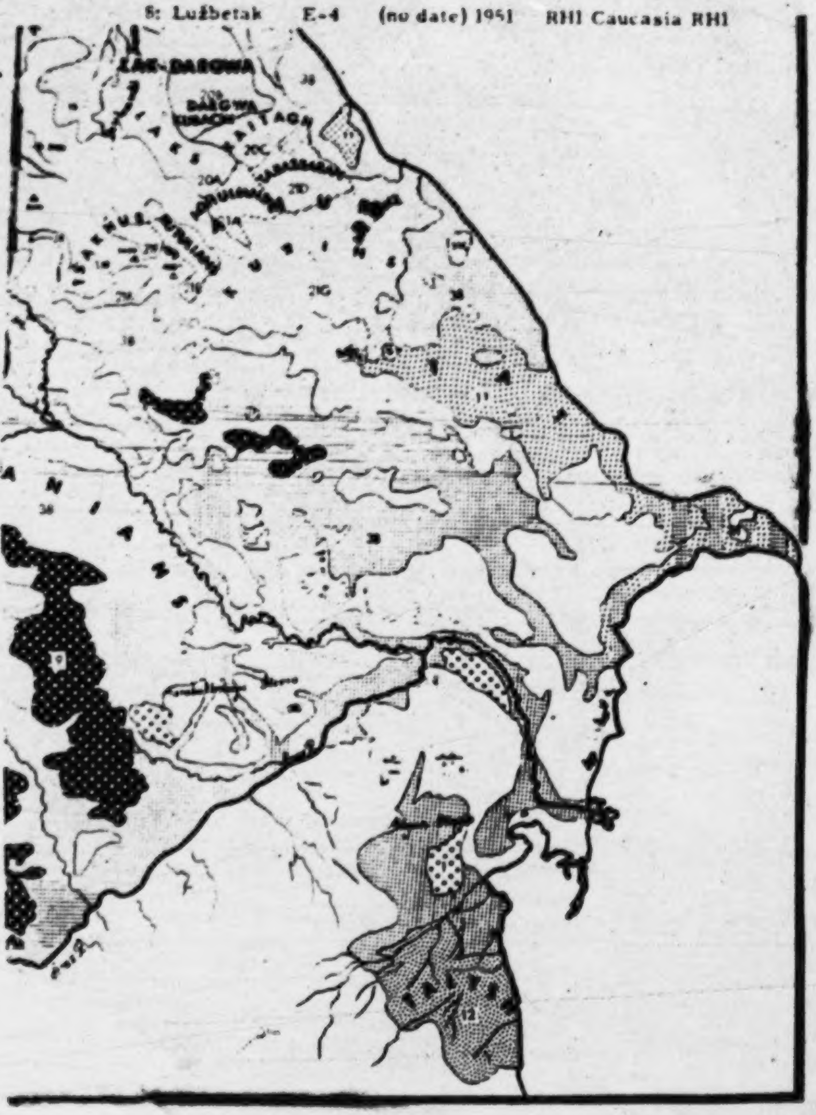
162


10
25E
25G
25
25H
25B
9
30
137
13
8

[End map E]

191
162


ZAK-DARGWA
DARGWA
KURACH
KAITAGH
20C
20A
20D
21A
21G
38
12
9

[End map F]

8: Lužbetak RH1 Caucasia RH1
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[For a detailed comparative analysis of the customary laws (Adats) of the peoples of Northern Caucasus, particularly with respect to marriage and the family as a social-economic entity, see category 116, entire source.]